Inter-Communal Relations in Jammu & Kashmir (1846 to 1931)

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Preface

This book is the result of the Ph.D. thesis on which the author has been awarded doctoral degree by the University of Jammu. A special feature of this book is that it is the first study of its kind which presents comprehensive details of the Hindu-Muslim inter-action in Jammu and Kashmir in the modern times. The period selected marks two turning points in the history of the State. The year 1846 is important because in this year Kashmir, which had Muslim predominance was handed over to a Dogra Hindu ruler and the year 1931 marks a break in the ageold Hindu-Muslim amity.

During these successive sixty years (1931-1990) of continued efforts the Muslim fundamentalists in the State have posed ever great threat to the integrity of secular India. Passimists go to the extent of predicting separation of this only Muslim majority state from the Indian Union. One is amazed when he on the one hand is told about the Kashmir's traditions of communal harmony and on the contrary when he comes to know through mass media about the ongoing genocide of the minority community in the Valley. He is eagerly waiting for the replies to certain queries. What were the forces which could keep up the traditional Hindu-Muslim amity? Was the rise of communalism in the State sui generis or a part of Indian phenomenon ? Under what conditions the ageold cordiality was wrecked ? What pressure the external forces exerted ? What role did the communal leadership play ? How much the Dogra administration was responsible ? These are some of the questions which this study seeks to reply.

Although, the major effort in the completion of this work had to be made by the author, yet a large number of persons had contributed to bring this work into the present form. No doubt, the work of the author has been difficult, but he was lucky to have the advice and guidance of his experienced teachers, especially Dr. A.C. Bose, Dr. G.C. Chhabra, Dr. Madhu Sein, Dr. Y.B. Singh and Dr. Hari Om of the History Department of Jammu University. He is, therefore, grateful to them all for their valuable help. But the author owes special debt and gratitude to his supervisor, Dr. M.L. Kapur, Professor in the Post-graduate Department of History, Jammu University, for his supervision and constant inspiration and encouragement. His constructive criticism and general guidance helped a lot to bring the present work to its completion.

The author is also thankful to his uncle, Shri Duli Chand Chauhan of the National Archives of India, New Delhi, who helped him in tracing the various sources and also providing boarding and lodging facilities in his house, during the former's stay at New Delhi. The author also wishes to thank his friend, Mr. Raphael, for his help in the collection of material and also entering into constructive discussion related to the topic. Further, the author also takes this opportunity to express his thanks to Dr. Dhanwanter Singh of Punjab Agricultural University, Ludhiana, for having taken keen interest in his work.

The author will be failing in his duty, if he forgets his wife, Mrs. Mamta Singh, at this juncture. Despite the fact that wife is not a thing to be forgotten, yet mention of her cooperation is very necessary at some special occasions. Being newly married, Mamta had to bear the brunt of author's long sittings at the study table. Besides, providing all homely comforts and looking after little 'Adi', she also helped him in the collection of required material. Little Adi's role is also to be reckoned with. His innocent smiles worked as Oasis in the desert for the author.

Author's thanks are also due to the staff of various libraries, such as Jammu and Kashmir State Records Repository,

Jammu; S.R.S. Library, Jammu; Central and History Department Libraries of the Jammu University; National Archives of India, New Delhi; Nehru Museum Library, New Delhi; Arya College Library, Ludhiana; Punjab University Extension Library, Ludhiana, etc.

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NIRMAL K. SINGH

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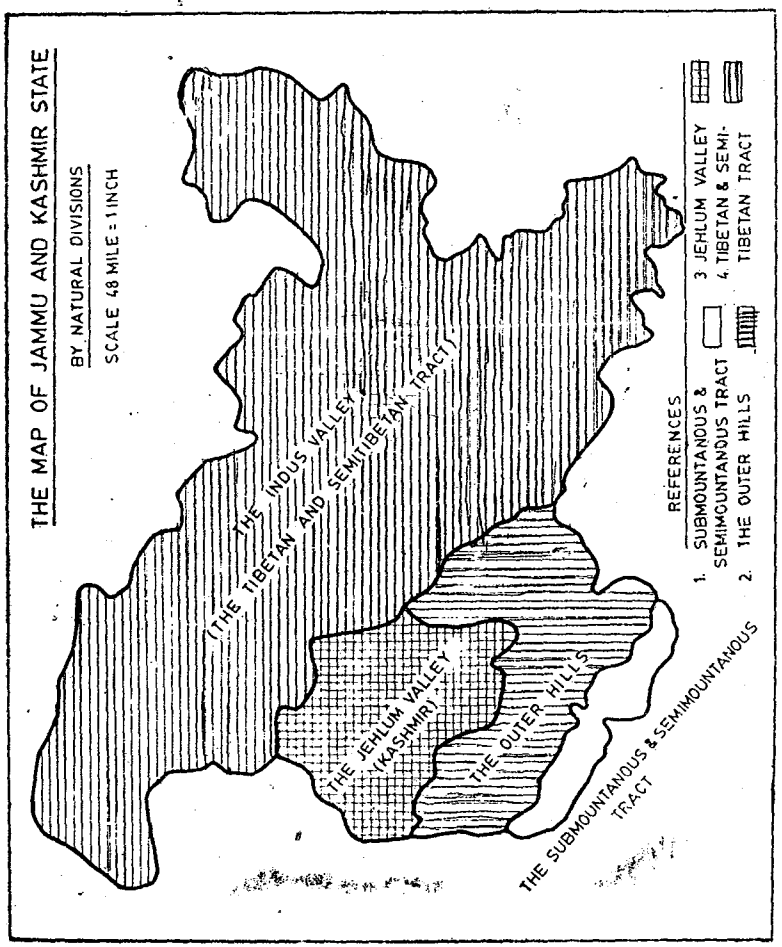
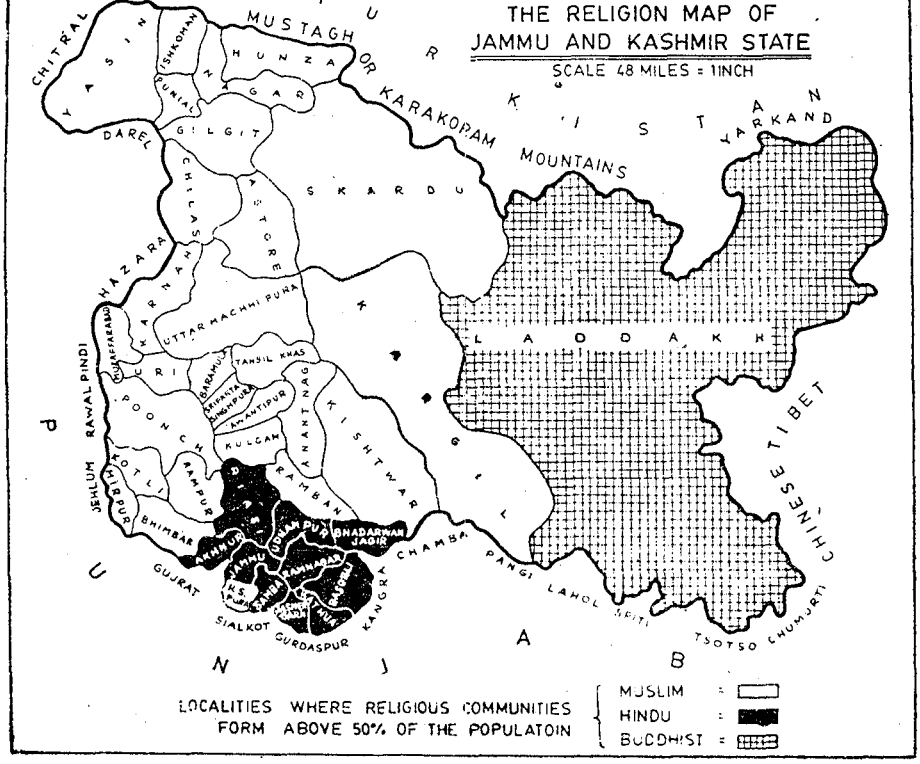
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviation	*Meaning*
Adm.	Administration
Acc. No.	Accession Number
Crown Representative Papers	Crown Representative Record, Kashmir State, India Office Library, London (available in Microfilms in National Archives, New Delhi)
Deptt.	Department
Dt. n.g.	Date not given
e.g.	exempli gratia; for example
Extl.	External
Govt.	Government
H.H.	His Highness the Maharaja
Ibid.	Ibidem; in the same place
i.e.	id est; That is
Intl.	Internal
J&K	Jammu and Kashmir
Memo.	Memorandum
No.	Number
Nos.	Numbers
op. cit.	opere citato; in the work cited

Abbreviation	*Meaning*
p.	Page
pp.	Pages
Pol.	Political
Prog.	Proceeding
Progs.	Proceedings
Sec.	Secret
Secy.	Secretary
Valley	The Valley of Kashmir
Viz.	Videlicet; namely
Vol.	Volume


THE MAP OF JAMMU AND KASHMIR STATE
BY NATURAL DIVISIONS
SCALE 48 MILE = 1 INCH
REFERENCES
1. SUBMOUNTANOUS & SEMIMOUNTANOUS TRACT
2. THE OUTER HILLS
3 JEHLUM VALLEY
4. TIBETAN & SEMI-TIBETAN TRACT
(THE TIBETAN AND SEMITIBETAN TRACT)
THE INDUS VALLEY
(THE JEHLUM VALLEY (KASHMIR))
THE OUTER HILLS
THE SUBMOUNTANOUS & SEMIMOUNTANOUS TRACT


THE RELIGION MAP OF
JAMMU AND KASHMIR STATE
SCALE 48 MILES = 1INCH
CHITRAL
YASIN
ISHKOMAN
PUNIAL
NAGAR
HUNZA
MUSTAGH OR KARAKORAM MOUNTAINS
DAREL
GILGIT
CHILAS
ASTORE
SKARDU
HAZARA
KARNAH
UTTAR MACHHI PURA
KERI
MUZAFFARABAD
JEHLUM
RAWAL PINDI
DARMANJ
TANSIL KHAS
CHHIPTA SINGHPURA
ANANTIPUR
KULGAM
ANANTNAG
POONCH
RAMPUR
KISHTWAR
RAMBAN
BHIMBAR
RAMNUR
AKHNUR
JAMMU
SAMBA
R.S. PURA
KATHUA
BHADARWAH JAGIR
CHAMBA
PANGI
LAHOL & SPITI
TSOTSO CHUMURTI
GUJRAT
SIALKOT
GURDASPUR
KANGRA
LADAKH
CHINESE TIBET
YARKAND
INDIA
LOCALITIES WHERE RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES FORM ABOVE 50% OF THE POPULATOIN
MUSLIM =
HINDU =
BUDDHIST =

1

Geography and Historical Background

A. Geography

Human relations—social, cultural or communal—are more or less dependent on geographical location of a particular place in which the people are settled. Hence, in order to truly understand the exact nature of the communal relations in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, it is imperative to study its geography and, of course, historical background.

Jammu and Kashmir territories, including the portion now under Pakistani occupation, constitute the extreme western section of the Himalayas, and lie between 32° and 37° North and 73° and 80° East.[1] The total area of the State ascertained in the 1921 census was 84,258 square miles.[2]

The Himalayas occupy a great part (84,432 sq. miles) of Jammu and Kashmir, beginning in the south where great plains of Punjab end and extend northwards to a point "where three empires meet" (or Russia, China and India), having Chinese Turkistan as their northern boundary, from which they are separated by the Karakoram. On the eastern side lies Chinese Tibet and on the western, North-West Frontier of India.[3]

The Jammu and Kashmir territory is divided into four geographical divisions—the sub-montane and semi-mountainous tract, the outer hills, the Jehlum valley, and the Indus valley.

I. The Sub-montane and Semi-mountainous Tract

This is partly plain, bordering the Punjab and partly broken *Kandi* country, touching the great mountain ranges of the Himalayan series, and consists of Tehsils Kathua and Jasmergarh of the Jasrota district, the entire district of Jammu, and Bimbhar and Mirpur tehsils of Mirpur district. The tehsils form the first rung of the ladder to the high mountain ranges in the State and are situated all along the line of the British districts of Gurdaspur, Sialkot, Gujrat and Jehlum. The lower portion of these tehsils share to some extent the advantages of Punjab plains and grow rice, wheat and maize and other crops as in the adjoining British territories. The cultivation is attended with care and the produce of this tract exceeds that in the higher tracts. Irrigation is arranged by ordinary *kuhls*. But a number of small canals taken out from the rivers Ravi, Chenab and Jehlum supply waters to the tehsils of Kathua, Sri Ranbir Singh Pura, Mirpur, respectively.[4] Tehsil Ranbir Singh Pura of Jammu district possesses the best soil, with all irrigation facilities. But Samba is the poorest tehsil in this tract, with sandy soil, having no scope for irrigation. The higher tracts of Mirpur, Bimbhar (now in Pakistan) and Akhnoor tehsils, commonly called *Kandi illaqa*, possess the features of hilly country where cultivation mostly depends on rainfall.[5]

II. The Outer Hills

This Division consists of tehsil Basohli of Kathua District, the entire Districts of Riasi and Udhampur, tehsil Kotli of Mirpur District, the whole of Poonch illaqa, and Bhaderwah Jagir. These tracts are situated in a higher line to the south of the Pir Panjal Range. The greater part of this Division has an altitude varying from 2,000 to 3,000 feet above the sea level,

though Kishtwar and Bhaderwah reach a height of over 5,000 feet, and are on the same level as that of Kashmir in climatic conditions. Bhaderwah is a miniature "Happy Valley", with flourishing cultivation and rich forests, presenting a strange contrast to the scrubby forests and scanty agriculture of the adjoining Udhampur District.[6]

The whole of this Division is a typical hill country. Cultivated areas are generally small and separated by long ranges of hills, bearing generally a stunted forest growth, which grows thicker and richer as it approaches the higher altitude. Irrigation is supplied by small *kuhls* or channels constructed by the villagers. The supply is not assisted by artificial means and hence the percentage of irrigation in this Division comes only to 11.7 as compared to 20.1 in the Sub-montane Division.[7] This deficiency is, however, made up to some extent by its proximity to the Pir Panjal Range which raises the average rainfall of this Division to the highest limit in the Province, giving a normal rainfall of 55.5 inches against 41.6 inches in the Sub-montane Division. The Riasi District and Poonch illaqa are particularly well situated in this respect. Rice and wheat crops are grown on a small scale, and maize is the principal food-crop. Cultivation is on the whole precarious and depends mostly on timely rainfall.

III. The Jehlum Valley

This Division comprises the whole of the Kashmir Valley, together with the entire district of Muzaffarabad. The agricultural and climatic conditions of the Valley proper of Kashmir are more or less uniform, though the side valleys, like Liddar and Sindh, and the other higher tracts of the foot of the surrounding range of hills, are much colder and less fertile. Cultivation in the valley proper is very close and careful and shali or Paddy is the principal crop, which seldom fails. Irrigation is usually sufficient, as an ample water supply is generally kept up by the adjoining snow clad mountains. Wheat, maize, barley and some other minor crops are also grown. These depend mostly on rainfall, and suffer in times of drought.[8]

Fruits are abundantly grown in gardens as well as in the fields in the Valley proper, and form the chief article of export to the plains. In the higher ranges of the Kashmir Province, maize, barley, *trumba* (buck wheat) and some other minor crops are usually cultivated. These crops are liable to damage from excessive cold and strong winds, and the crop is not as certain as in the Valley proper. The District of Muzaffarabad, commonly known as Wazarat-i-Pahar, has little in common with the Kashmir Valley, except that some villages of tehsil Uri which adjoin tehsil Baramula of Kashmir, share to some extent the agricultural conditions of Kashmir. The rest of this District is more fit to be grouped with the Division of the Outer Hills than with Kashmir. Excluding the upper portion of tehsil Karnah which suffers from the disadvantage of a high altitude and grows inferior and uncertain crops, the agricultural and economic conditions of this district are almost the same as in the Outer Hills. Most of the inhabitants of tehsils Muzaffarabad and Uri belong to the same tribes and castes as those living in the Outer Hills to the south of Pir Panjal, while the population of Karnah tehsil is a mixture of Pathan, Kashmiri and Pahari elements.[9] Agriculture in the Muzaffarabad District is much inferior as compared to Kashmir. Rice of inferior kind is grown to some extent and maize forms the principal crop. Irrigation is generally insufficient, but, as in the Outer Hills, rainfall is generally abundant and much above the average of Kashmir.

IV. The Tibetan and Semi-Tibetan Tracts

This is briefly called the Indus Valley Division, as most of the inhabited tracts are situated on the river Indus or its tributaries. The Valleys are enclosed by the central range of the Himalayas on the south and the Kara Koram mountain on the vast mountain ranges and a very high altitude. The rainfall is insignificant, giving an average of 5.2 inches only. This is due to the monsoon currents from the plains being intercepted and exhausted by the Mid-Himalayan Range. The Ladakh District, consisting of Ladakh, Skardu and Kargil tehsils, occupies the largest area in the State and accounts for

more than half the area of the entire State. Most of these high and barren tracts form part of the Ladakh tehsil[10] which is the most thinly populated tract in the whole State. Giram is the principal, and in most villages, the only crop, which is grown even in villages having an altitude of about 14,000 feet. The population of Ladakh tehsil belongs mainly to the Tibetan race and religion, while the Kargil and Skardu tehsils are inhabited mostly by Shia Muslims belonging to a Semi-Tibetan Race, commonly called Balti.[11] The cultivation in Kargil and Skardu tehsils is particularly hampered by the small extent of cultivable area. The holdings are generally very small and small terraced fields are reclaimed at the foot of overhanging cliffs with much difficulty and labour. The Baltis are further handicapped by a steady increase in population, as a result of the prevailing custom of polygamy among the Shias. On the other hand, the custom of polyandry common among the Buddhists in Ladakh keeps the holdings intact as the joint family and common-wife system of the Buddhists prevents the holdings from being frittered away by partition.[12] The Gilgit district is a small tract consisting only of the Gilgit tehsil, inhabited generally by Muslims of Dard race and situated at a comparatively lower level. Gilgit enjoys a better climate than Ladakh. Wheat is the principal crop, and fruits are also grown, parts of Gilgit being specially noted for their fine vineyards.[13]

B. Historical Background

Long before the extension of Islamic influence to the State of Jammu and Kashmir, the Muslims had established themselves on the frontiers of India. The Arabs had acquired Kabul and Turkistan during the Caliphate of Walid.[14] The period 724-43 witnessed their advance as far as Kashghar.[15] In 751 they conquered Gilgit from the Chinese.[16] Later, when Hamun became Caliph (813-33), he established diplomatic relations with Tibet and its neighbouring states.[17]

There is no evidence to suggest that the Arabs also tried to conquer Kashmir from the north. The real threat to this State came from the Arabs who had established themselves in

Sindh.[18] After the conquest of Sindh, Mohammad bin Qasim is said to have advanced towards Kashmir frontier also.[19] Raja Candrapida (686-94) was at that time the ruler of Kashmir. Threatened by the Arab invasion, he sent an envoy to Chinese Emperor requesting for help against the Arabs.[20] But before the Arabs could achieve any success, Mohammad bin Qasim was recalled back to Damascus[21] and thus Arabs' threat was removed for the time being.

The Arabs made two other attempts to invade Kashmir during the reign of Caliph Hisham (724-43)[22] and Caliph Mansur (754-75). In the first instance Lalitaditya (724-60), the ruler of Kashmir is believed to have defeated the Arabs with a heavy hand.[23] But in the second attempt Hisham b. Amrat Taghlibi, the Arab invader failed to enter the valley.[24]

Thus, it is amply clear that Arab Muslims' attempts to conquer Kashmir failed miserably. But it affected the course of Kashmir history in an indirect way. It brought the followers of two major religious philosophies (Hinduism and Islam) in contact with each other.[25] It is believed that Lalitaditya's second successor, Vajraditya sold many men to the 'Mlechhas' (Muslims) and this led to the introduction in Kashmir of their many customs and practices.[26] However, they had yet to secure their stronghold in the State.

Another Muslim attempt to conquer Kashmir was made by Mahmud of Ghazni in 1015.[27] After the defeat of Anandpal, the Sahi ruler of Udabhanda, in 1009, his son Trilochanpal appealed to Samgramaraja (1003-28), the king of Kashmir to help him against Mahmud. Samgramaraja despatched a large army under the command of his Commander-in-Chief Tunga to help Trilochanpal.[28] But Mahmud succeeded in inflicting a defeat on the joint forces[29] of Trilochanpal and Tunga.

In order to punish Samgramaraja, Mahmud made two unsuccessful attempts to invade Kashmir. But on both occasions, he was unable to enter the Kashmir valley.[30] He besieged the fort of Loharkot (Poonch) for a month each time.[31] Obviously, the presence of a large Muslim army in the south-

western section of the State would have led to the conversion of a part of the local population to Islam.

There are other instances of the establishment of closer contact of Muslims with the Hindus of Kashmir. There is an indication that King Kalsa (1063-89) introduced Muslim women in his harem.[32] King Harsa (1089-1101) recruited many Turk Muslims in his army. His policy to loot and destroy Hindu temples is also attributed to Islamic influence on him.[33] Kalhana, the author of Rajtarangni calls him Turkuska (Turk), Again, Bhiksacara (1120-21) is also said to have employed some Turks to fight Sussala.[34]

Under the circumstances, it can well be argued that long before the establishment of Muslim rule in Kashmir, the society of Jammu and Kashmir was exposed to Islamic influence. It was but natural that during the period some Muslims permanently settled in Kashmir. Besides, Hindus' conversion to Islam, a process of synthesisation of two major cultures had set in.

An organised attempt to spread Islam in Kashmir was started in the first quarter of the 14th century when the first Sufi Sayyed Sharaf-ud-din (Bulbul Shah) reached Kashmir from Turkistan. He was a disciple of Niamatullah Farsi who belonged to the Suhrawardi order of Sufism.[35] The most important achievement of Sayyed Sharaf-ud-din was the conversion of Rinchana, a Ladakhi to Islam.[36] It was this man who by virtue of his capacity and political insight succeeded in establishing himself as the first Muslim ruler (1320-23) of Kashmir. He adopted the name of Sultan Sadr-ud-din.[37] It is believed that by this time Islam had become second important religion.[38]

The accession of Rinchana to the throne of Kashmir made Bulbul Shah (Sayyed Sharaf-ud-din) very popular with the local population. The royal patronage which Islam secured, helped in claiming a large number of converts. It is believed that as many as ten thousand Hindus embraced Islam without any opposition.[39]

Although Rinchana received credit of becoming first Muslim ruler of Kashmir, yet after his death, the throne of Kashmir once again passed on to the Hindu kings, whose rule lasted sixteen years.[40] The final jolt to the Hindu rule came in 1339 when Shah Mir established himself as the real founder of Muslim rule in Kashmir.[41]

The early period of Shah Mir's dynasty is noted for the arrival of a large number of Sufis who further encouraged the cause of the spread of Islam. The prominent among them was Sayyed Ali Hamdani or Shah-i-Hamdan. He reached Kashmir in 1372 when Qutb-ud-Din (1373-89) was the ruler. He is believed to have brought about seven hundred Sayyeds along with him.[42] He left Kashmir when Qutb-ud-Din did not oblige him by ruling according to Muslim law.[43] According to one estimate the Sayyed converted as many as 37,000 Hindus to Islam.[44]

In spite of all these activities, the Hindus were still in majority in the State. The native converts had not yet changed their traditional dress, customs and practices.[45] Sultan Qutb-ud-din and his Muslim subjects used to pray in Hindu temples. During the course of a famine, Qutb-ud-Din, performed a *yajna* and distributed gifts among the Brahmins.[46] The cases of forced conversion were very rare.[47]

The accession of Sultan Sikander to the throne of Kashmir added a new dimension to the history of the State. In the beginning he was liberal towards his non-Muslim subjects.[48] But later, he under the influence of Baihaqi Sayyeds adopted a policy of repression on his Hindu subjects. The most important among these Sayyeds was Mir Mohammad Hamdani, who came to Kashmir with three hundred companions.[49] He impressed upon the Sultan to rule according to *Shariat* (Muslim law). It was also on his advice that Sikander imposed *Jazya* (poll tax) on Hindus,[50] prohibited the practice of *sati* and application of *tilak* on forehead. Moreover, he started a new office of Shaikh-ul-Islam to supervise the enforcement of Islamic law.[51] Hindu temples were demolished and idols

broken. Hindus were given the choice either to embrace Islam or to meet death.[52] As a result of this repression a large number of Hindus fled Kashmir and a majority was converted to Islam.[53]

With the assumption of rulership by Zain-ul-Abdin, there opened an era of peaceful co-existence for different religious groups. He allowed full religious freedom to Hindus and put an end to all repressive measures undertaken by his father (Sikander). He abolished *Jazya*[54] and allowed Hindus to apply *tilak* on their forehead. He even banned cow-slaughter and invited all those Hindus, who had fled Kashmir during the time of his predecessor to resettle in the State.[55] He made no distinction in employing people in the Government services.

In addition to these measures Zain-ul-Abdin took some other steps to infuse a sense of confidence among the Hindus. He granted Jagirs to Hindus and endowed temples.[56] He got repaired some old temples and also constructed a few of them. He also got Hindus' sacred books translated into Persian.[57] It is on account of his liberal attitude that the modern writers place him above Akbar even in the catholicity of temper.[58]

It is worthy of notice here that the return of peaceful times brought in its wake the emergence of the Rishi order. The *Rishis* (Saints) were the local Sufis, who like their Hindu counterparts believed in the practice of celibacy, penances and vegetarian way of life. They also followed yogic practices.[59] The founder of the Rishi order was Sheikh Nur-ud-din who was born in 1377 near Srinagar.[60] He was a Hindu before his conversion to Islam. It goes to the credit of these *Rishis* that they propagated Islam in Kashmir through the path of persuasion rather than compulsion. Naturally, the interpretation of Islamic philosophy through the examples and manners of Hindu way of life went a long way to spread Islam in Kashmir and its adjoining areas.

The spread of Islam received impetus when in 1502 one Mir Shams-ud-din Iraqi, a Shia missionary reached Kashmir.[61]

He was deputed by Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara (1469-1506) of Herot to propagate Nurbakhshiya order of Sufism in Kashmir.[62] According to Zafar Nama, Shams-ud-din converted many Hindus to Nurbakhshi sect.[63] It goes to his credit to convert Chak Sultans to Shiaism.[64] The Mir is said to have launched an aggressive policy of conversion. He got Hindu temples destroyed and mosques were erected in their places.[65] According to one estimate he converted about 24000 Brahmin families to Islam.[66] During the reign of Mohammad Shah (1493-1528), the Mir influenced Kaji Chak, his Prime Minister to put an end to the Hindus' attempt to reclaim the neo-converts to their fold and accordingly about eight hundred Hindu leaders were massacred and many other forcibly converted to Islam.[67]

Majority of the Chak Sultans belonged to the Shia sect of Muslims. Among them Ghazi Chak a fanatic Shia was cruel to Sunnis.[68]

Mirza Haider Oughlat, a cousin of Mughal emperor Babar, conquered Kashmir in 1540. He was a bigoted Sunni. After establishing himself in Kashmir, he persecuted the Muslims of Nurbakshiya sect[69], who had secured a considerable influence under the Chak Sultans.[70]

Under the Mughals (1586-1752) the Islamic influence was further strengthened in the State. But the neo-converts had not adopted orthodoxy. They still retained their old Hindu customs and practices. They even entered into matrimonial relations with their Hindu neighbours.[71] Such relations also existed between the Hindu Rajas of Jammu and Muslim Sultans of Kashmir. According to Jahangir's memoirs, the Muslims of Rajouri followed the practice of Sati in their own style. The Muslim widows used to sit alive in the grave along with their dead husbands.[72] They also followed the practice of female infanticide. When on his way back to Delhi, Jahangir heard about these practices, he issued orders for their abolition.[73]

About the society of Kashmir, Jahangir writes "The merchants and artificers of this country are mostly Sunnis,

while the soldiers are Imamiyya Shias. There is also the sect of Nurbakhshis. There is also a body of *Faqirs* whom they call *Rishis*.... There are about 2000 of those people. There is also a body of Brahmins living from of old in this country.... Outwardly one cannot distinguish them from Mussulmans."[74]

Aurangzeb's policy of religious persecution led to a reign of terror on the local Hindu population.[75] Sectarian fights between the Shias and the Sunnis were frequent.[76] It was during his time that Raja Jai Singh of Kishtwar is said to have been converted by Shah Farid-ud-din Qadri of Baghdad. Following the line of their ruler, a majority of the Hindus of the area seem to have embraced Islam.[77]

Moreover, the wholesale conversion of the people of the western section of the State along the Mughal route seems to have been effected by the conversion of the local Hindu Rajas, who came under the influence of Mughal Emperors passing along that route.[78]

After Mughals, Kashmir passed on to the Afghans. They were tyrants of the first rank. The victims of these fanatics were both Hindus and Shia Muslims. According to an authority, Asad Khan, one of the Pathan Governors of Kashmir used to "tie up the Pandits, two and two, in grass sacks and sink them in the Dal lake".[79] He meted out similar treatment to Shias also. He forced the Hindus to grow beards according to the Muslim fashion. They were denied the right of application of *tilak* on their foreheads. Wearing of shoesa nd turbans was forbidden to them.[80] The Jazya was reimposed on the Hindus.[81] Many Hindus were either converted to Islam, killed or fled the valley.[82] Similar story was repeated by almost all the Pathan rulers of Kashmir.

Under the circumstances, Maharaja Ranjit Singh invaded Kashmir and conquered it in 1819.[83] Thus, after a long time Kashmir passed on to a new dynasty i.e., Sikhs. Although the Sikh rule (1819-46) was not so good, yet it was at any rate better than that of Pathans.[84] The general condition of the

masses was still deplorable. According to Moorcroft, "The Sikhs seem to look upon the Kashmirians as little better than cattle. The murder of a native by a Sikh is punished by a fine to Government from sixteen to twenty rupees, of which four rupees are paid to the family of the deceased if a Hindu, two rupees if he was a Muhamedan."[85]

On the very inception of their rule the Sikh Governors prohibited the practice of saying *Azan* (calling to the prayer) by the Muslims and the Jama Masjid of Srinagar was closed down.[86]

But it also remains a fact that some of the Sikh Governors like Colonel Mian Singh tried to improve the lot of the local population. He restored confidence among the people by reorganising the civil administration and remitting tax on marriages. He is known for deciding cases "justly and quickly".[87]

Golab Singh, the founder of Dogra rule, was associated with the Kashmir affairs since its conquest by the Sikhs.[88] In 1822, Maharaja Ranjit Singh assigned to him the Rajaship of Jammu which made him a quasi-independent ruler of the area.[89] During the years 1822-46 he firmly established himself in the Jammu province.[90] But it was not till the conclusion of the Amritsar Treaty in 1846 that he got the State of Jammu and Kashmir as an independent ruler. This development is crucial, as a Hindu authority was appointed to rule over a State presently with a Muslim majority. It is in this context that the proposed study is undertaken.

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2

Major Communities—Their Distribution and Life Pattern

A. Geographical Distribution

The modern State of Jammu and Kashmir came into existence with the conclusion of the Treaty of Amritsar on 16th March, 1846, between the British Indian Government and Maharaja Golab Singh.

Though the State had predominance of Muslim population[1], the new governing authority belonged to a different community i.e., Hindu Dogras of Jammu. So establishment of this new ruling authority emerged to be an important factor which shaped the course of the history of this State.

The second important factor was the ethnical composition of various communities in the State, and in order to clearly understand the actual state of the inter-communal relations here, it is necessary to find out the various factors which provided scope for interaction among them.

Geographical distribution of these groups is one of the most important points which is proposed to be discussed here. In this connection we shall see which were the different com-

munities residing in a particular area; what was their respective strength; what occupational pursuits they had adopted and which were the religious groups living in close vicinity to them across the borders.

Due to the non-availability of source material ascertaining the actual number of the people living in Jammu and Kashmir State in 1846, it is difficult to say anything with certainty about that period. Frederic Drew came to the State in 1862 and toured the various parts of the State. He has given a rough estimate about the population of the State, which he wrote was 16,00,000.[2] This estimate, it seems, was based on the rough census made in 1873. According to this census, the total population of the State was 15,34,972. Of the total, the number of the Hindus was 5,06,699; of Muslims, 9,18,536; of Buddhists, 20,254 and of others, 89,483.[3]

In Jammu and Kashmir the first regular census was held in 1891 on the British Indian lines. Although this survey was not devoid of defects[4], yet it provides nearly correct information about the population of the State. Moreover, it was the first systematic census of the number of people residing in the State.

This census returned the total number of people as 25,43,952 out of which 17,93,710 were the Muslims. Hence, the Muslims formed 70.5 per cent of the total population. The Hindus, with 6,91,800 souls, was the second largest community. They formed 27.1 per cent of the total population. The people who professed Buddhism and Sikhism numbered 29,608 and 11,399 respectively.[5]

The next census, conducted in 1901, was also full of defects.[6] Consequently, it is proper to evaluate our proposition on the basis of the Census Report of 1911 which is more authentic and thus reliable.[7]

According to the Census Report of 1911[8], the total population of the State consisted of 31,58,126 souls. Out of it, 23,98,320 were the Muslims, forming 75.9 per cent of the total

population. The Hindus, with 6,90,389 souls, forming 21.8 per cent of the total population, was the second largest community. The number of Sikhs and the Buddhists was 31,553 and 36,512 respectively. Thus, each of these two communities was nearly one per cent of the total population.[9]

One of the striking feature of the State was that the distribution of different religious groups was strictly governed by the geographical conditions. The Kashmir Province, which comprised the whole of the valley and the Muzaffarabad district, was overwhelmingly Muslim and returned more than 94 per cent of the population of the Province.

In the Jammu Province, the South Eastern districts were inhabited by the Hindus. But the montaneous belt, which starts from the Poonch and goes in a semi-circle along the right side of the Peer Panchal range up to the Kishtwar, was a predominantly Muslim majority area.[10] It included Poonch, Mirpur, Rampur Rajouri, the northern parts of Riasi, Ramban and the Kishtwar tehsils.

The Buddhist population of the State was a little more than one per cent. They were confined to the Ladakh district only, situated on the highest ranges of the Himalayas. Here, they formed 19 per cent of the population.[11]

The Sikhs, the next important community, were scattered over a large portion of the State. But their concentration was limited only to those areas which had direct contiguity with the Punjab, such as Poonch, Muzaffarabad and Mirpur.[12]

A careful examination of the statistics[13] further reveal that among the three administrative divisions of the State, the Jammu Province was important for two reasons. Firstly, it had more than half of the population of the State, secondly, the people belonging to the three major communities were more or less uniformly distributed in this division.

Further, in the Jammu Province, the districts of Kathua, Jammu and Udhampur, and the Bhaderwah Jagir were the

only areas which had Hindu majority. Thus, while the Kathua district had about 75 per cent of the people who professed the Hindu religion, in the Jammu and Udhampur districts and the Bhaderwah Jagir, the proportionate ratio of the Hindus and the Muslims was 60:40. In the rest of the district, i.e., Poonch and Mirpur, 90 per cent of the population belonged to the Muslim religion and the Hindus formed the second largest community, with 6.5 per cent population.

It would not be out of place to mention here that the ethnical composition of Poonch provided wider scope for inter-mixing or social interaction of the three major communities, viz., the Hindus, the Muslims and the Sikhs. Mirpur district also presented the same picture, with 80 per cent of the Muslims, 17.6 per cent of Hindus and near about 1 per cent of Sikhs. In the district of Riasi, the proportionate ratio between the Muslims and the Hindus was 60:40.

So far as the Kashmir Province and frontier districts are concerned, the Muslims had an overwhelming majority. In those two divisions, almost all the districts had more than 90 per cent of the people as Muslims, with the exception of Ladakh where the Buddhists constituted 19.3 per cent of the total population. The Frontier illaqa had 99 per cent of its population who professed Islam.

In the Kashmir valley, the second important, community was that of the Hindus. Most of them were settled in the urban areas.[14] They had Kashmiri Pandits as a major component and the non-Kashmiri Hindus, viz., the Dogras and the Punjabis, were in small numbers. They were either employees in the State services or Jagirdars or were engaged in trade.[15] Some of them especially the Dogra Rajput settlers, were Jagirdars who were given special grants for the services they had rendered to the State.[16]

Barring a few Muslims, who claimed to be the descendants of some foreign tribes, such as the Mughals, the Pathans and the Sayyids, the rest of them were local converts, constituting about 95 per cent of the Muslim population.[17]

Sikhism, which had originated from the adjoining province of Punjab, had absorbed its followers from the local Hindus.[18] Culturally as well as politically, however, they did not consider themselves different from Hinduism, in the beginning.[19] But the situation changed when, in 1919, the British Government of India gave them separate communal representation. The emergence of the Akali movement in the Punjab in 1920's created a further psychological cleavage between these two communities, resulting in new identity consciousness of being a separate community.[20]

In Jammu and Kashmir, the Sikhs were evenly scattered in both the Provinces of Jammu and Kashmir. They were, however, mostly concentrated in Poonch, Mirpur and Muzaffarabad districts and were sparsely found in the Jammu district and the Kashmir valley.

Before 1846, the people of this State were totally ignorant of the doctrines of Christianity. Occasionally, they had the chance to meet casual travellers who happened to visit Kashmir for merry-making.[21] But soon after the State was transferred into the hands of Maharaja Golab Singh, the followers of Jesus Christ began to take keen interest in its people.[22] Their Missionaries were backed by the British Government officials also, though not as an official policy. Starting their work in 1863[23], they could, however, achieve only meagre success in proselytising a small number of local people, mostly sweepers in Jammu and Jasrota districts and some Buddhists in Leh.[24] This was due to the fact that Christianity was totally an alien philosophy, foreign to local atmosphere, and the missionaries were not familiar with the local circumstances. Secondly, in the beginning they did not get support of the State Government. They had rather to face opposition from the native officials.[25] Moreover, the society here was priest ridden and, thus, not easily prone to external influences. Hence, even after about 60 years of their efforts, they could raise their number in the State to 2263.[26] This total included Europeans and the British Indian subjects who were working in Jammu and Kashmir in various capacities, as well as missionaries. Though

numerically this strength was very low, yet it had a great political clout, which the missionaries and their co-religionists often used, as we shall subsequently see, in shaping the course of history of inter-communal relations in the State. Further, they had succeeded in creating small pockets of influence in almost all the district headquarters, except in the Chanani Jagir.[27]

In the Jammu Province the vast majority of the Hindus belonged to the traditional Hinduism. But Arya Samaj, a Hindu revivalist movement, which aimed at propagation of ancient vedic religion and stood for social reforms in traditional Hindu society, had also gradually succeeded in spreading its influence in some areas. Thus, while in 1911, the people who followed this movement numbered 1047[28], their strength rose to 93,944 in the next two decades[29], forming 2.5 per cent of the total population of the State. An overwhelming majority of them lived in the districts of Jammu, Kathua, Mirpur and Udhampur.

The chief reason for the success of this movement in these districts of the Jammu Province was that a vast majority of inhabitants there were Hindus who were, it may be said, fed up with the outdated beliefs and superstitions, viz., caste system, untouchability, child marriage, prohibition of widow marriage, child infanticide, purdah system, etc. Moreover, they were in close proximity of Punjab, the chief seat of the Arya Samaj.

The majority of Muslims of the Jammu and Kashmir State belonged to the Sunni sect. Shias formed the second big sect of the Muslims.[30] The ratio between the Sunnis and the Shias was 91:9.

Though the Shias were scattered over various areas, they made their presence felt in the Frontier districts and the Kashmir valley. In 1911, their number was 155,978 and 42,419 in the Frontier districts and the Valley respectively.[31]

It is obvious from the foregoing details that the ethnical distribution in the Jammu Province provided a greater scope

for inter-action among the various communities, especially, the Hindus, the Muslims and the Sikhs. It was only in this part of the State that the three important communities had sufficient strength to easily influence each other's way of life. Consequently, a major portion of our study would have to be devoted to the inter-communal relationship in this Province. The second important area was Ladakh where the Buddhists were living side by side with the Muslims of the Shia sect.

In Kashmir, the Hindus were having a nominal strength, and their social position and typical condition of the valley made them wholly dependent upon their Muslim neighbours. But there were differences between the Shias and the Sunnis in their beliefs[32] and occupations. The Sunni Muslims were engaged in agriculture and often worked as tenants to the Hindu land owners. Shias, on the contrary, were engaged in shawl manufacturing and paper-mache industry[33] and thus had little connection with the Hindus. In the Frontier districts too, the Shias distinguished themselves from the Sunnis in a number of ways—both personal and social.

B. Demographic Changes

Just like the ethnic composition, the demographic changes among various communities also play an important role in shaping the socio-economic relations of the people in an area. Religion, in turn, in consistence with some local factors, has a direct bearing on the development of a particular community, because we see that very often the different religious groups do not react alike towards the same issues.

Thus, we see that in the Jammu and Kashmir State, most of the Buddhists, under the influence of their religious philosophy, used to enter the service of monasteries and lead a life of celibacy.[34] This resulted in very slow growth in their numbers. But their neighbours, the Balti Muslims, who belonged to the same race as Buddhists of Ladakh, being polygamist, added to their strength very rapidly.[35] The socio-religious beliefs among

the Hindus also served as an influential factor in the demographic changes in that community.[36] This fact, consequently, disturbed the basic norms required for maintaining the balance in their society. Naturally, it also affected their inter-communal relations.

As already said, the Muslims in the State were swelling their ranks very rapidly.[37] But the number of Hindus was growing at a very slow pace. In certain areas they showed even a reverse trend.[38]

The Sikhs were, however, the most fortunate community in this respect. They even surpassed the Muslims so far as the growth of population was concerned. Being closer to Hinduism, they found ready converts among its followers. Moreover, the caste-ridden Hindu society was suffering from social taboos, such as untouchability, child marriage, prohibition of widow marriage and purdah system. Consequently, Hindus from depressed classes saw in Sikhism comparatively free atmosphere and did not face any difficulty in getting absorbed in its fold. The Hindus also did not mind their co-religionists being baptised to Sikhism as they did in the case of Islam and Christianity.

Similarly, whatever Christianity gained, it derived from the ranks of the Hindus. Conversion to Islam, though on small scale, was also going on.[39] This sort of development naturally broke the balance among the major communities of the State. It consequently, led to the emergence of various forces which generated tension among them.

According to the Census of 1901, the total number of Muslims in the State was 21,54,738.[40] It was 74.1 per cent of the total population. By the end of 1911, they added 2,43,582 persons to their ranks.[41] This meant 11.30 per cent rise during the decade, and with this the Muslims could claim 75.9 per cent of the State population. The Muslim community thus gained 1.8 per cent additional lead in comparison to the other communities. They kept up the rate of their growth during the

subsequent period also. So the Muslims, who constituted 76.7 per cent of the total population in 1921, reached the figure of 77.2 per cent in 1931.[42] Thus, during the period between 1901 and 1931, they added 30 per cent to their numbers.

Though the Hindus too showed some progress in their numerical strength during the same period, yet their growth was so insignificant that their percentage actually came down in contrast to the growth rate of the Muslims or the Sikhs. If we take into consideration the figures for the same period as we did in the case of Muslims, then we see that the Hindus, who were 23.7 per cent in the total population of the State in 1901, dwindled to 21.8 per cent in 1911. Their position further deteriorated during the decades of 1911-21 and 1921-31, and reached the figure of 20.8 per cent and 20.1 per cent respectively.[43]

The Hindu society gradually became prone to decay due to the rigidity of caste system, early marriages, taboos of re-marriage of widows among the caste Hindus, prevalence of childlessness among the Hindu Thakkars[44] and the custom of female infanticide among the Hindu Rajputs.

The position was just the reverse among the Muslims. Majority of them belonged to the lower strata, who were vigorous, hardy and fecund. Their adherence to polygamy was another factor which also contributed for the rapid growth of population among them. Some believe that vitality of the Muslims was comparatively higher due to the consumption of protein rich non-vegetarian diet which was lacking in the case of Hindus, especially the Brahmins, owing to strict adherence to vegetarianism by most of them.

The Buddhists also showed the same trend as existed among the Hindus of the State.[45] Although they showed some growth in their population, yet their share in the total population was decreasing day by day. While in 1901, they formed 1.28 per cent of the total population of the State, their percentage declined to only 1 in 1931.[46] Although this fall of 0.28 per cent

is very insignificant, yet one is astonished when this variation in their population growth is compared with that among the Sikhs. Thus, we see that during the period from 1901 to 1931, the Sikh population increased from 25,828 to 50,662 persons, i.e., by 96 per cent, within 30 years. In terms of percentage of the total population, they raised it from 0.88 in 1901 to 1.38 in 1931.[47]

The decline in the ranks of Buddhists was due to many reasons, both religious and non-religious. Amongst them polyandry system prevailed, especially among the poor classes. This system is said to have originated from the smallness of the extent of cultivable land and general inelasticity of resources of the place, and its isolation from the rest of the world, religious as well as geographical,[48] accounting for the absence of emigration. As a result, there came about a curious custom that when the elder brother in a family took a wife, she became the wife of all the brothers. This polyandry system restricted the growth of population in the land. It also led to an increase in the number of unmarried girls of marriageable age. Their parents found it difficult to catch hold of a match for their young daughters from within their religious group. Consequently, not a few Buddhist girls were obliged to go to their Muslim neighbours, who, being polygamists, used to keep more than one wife. But polyandry was well adopted to the limited resources of the land, and, as a result, the Buddhists were better off than their Muslim neighbours.[49]

The second important factor was the role of Buddhist *Gumpas* or monasteries which also proved instrumental in keeping the Buddhist population small. A large number of their male members entered the service of their monasteries, and led a life of celibacy.

There were thus uneven demographic variations among various communities of the State. As a result, where the Muslims predominated, there was increased pressure on the cultivated land. The areas where the Hindu dwellers were in majority experienced less pressure. And, in a State where

more than 85 per cent of the people were engaged in agriculture or its subsidiary occupations, this pressure on land naturally affected their socio-economic status in a significant measure.

Regionwise, the Kashmir Province, which was a Muslim majority area, retained 1006 persons per square mile of cultivable land.[50] Such a high density was sure to reflect in the economic conditions of the Muslim inhabitants. Little wonder, besides cultivation, they had to resort to other means of earning.

In the Ladakh district, there were 1436 persons per square mile of cultivated land.[51] For such a high density, the main contributing factor was the great congestion in the Muslim Baltistan. The population in the Skardu tehsil (1618 per sq. mile) of this tract had indeed over grown its resources. This explains the large exodus of the Balti Muslims to India, especially to Shimla in search of employment.[52]

On the other hand, the Hindu majority districts of Kathua, Udhampur and Jammu in the Jammu Province showed far less pressure on land as compared to the areas already discussed.[53] The Kathua district, which returned 3/4 of its population as Hindus, had only 600 persons per square mile of cultivated land. The figures for Jammu and Udhampur districts were 692 and 884 respectively.[54] But it should be kept in mind that Jammu district also included the Jammu city which had large population with no cultivable land.

To further elaborate the various dimensions of the demographic interchanges that were taking place in the State, a third mode of assessing the situation is concerned with the number of persons dwelling in each house. The various figures under this head were five for Jammu Province where Hindus were in large number, and seven for Kashmir Province, and six for the Frontier districts, the areas where Muslims were in overwhelming majority. The highest figures in Kashmir fully establish the noted fecundity of the Kashmiri Muslims. Each

family in Kashmir comprised much larger number of individuals than anywhere else in the State.[55] Even the prevalence of joint family system among the people of Jammu Province, where the Hindu element preponderated, could not help in bringing the number of persons per family among the Hindus at par with those of the Muslims.

The families of Ladakhi Buddhists were rarely large and the average of Frontier district (6) owes its magnitude to the overgrowing race of the Balti Muslims of Skardu.[56]

This rapid growth in the ranks of Muslims and Sikhs, on the one hand, and comparative decrease among the Hindus and the Buddhists, on the other, hampered the ecological balance in the State. As a result of this important factor, the poverty of the Muslim community became proverbial. Generally, they had to support comparatively larger families which had overgrown their sources of income. Their ancestral lands had been reduced to small holdings owing to the division among the descendants from a common stock, and their income from them did not suffice to support the growing families among them. For this reason, either they had to migrate to the adjoining territories in search of employment or were compelled to work as tenants in the fields of the people belonging to the other communities.[57] Often, they were so much hard pressed that they had to approach the Sahukars who always looked for an opportunity to trap them in debts. Again, the Balti Muslims grew and multiplied faster than the resources of the area and they were forced to migrate to Simla and also to neighbouring Gilgit.[58]

C. Demographic Mobility

Demographic mobility is yet another important factor which has a bearing on the relations between the people of different communities. As every part of the country is not capable of fulfilling all the needs of the people, so the very law of nature requires some sort of movement from and to different

parts of a country and also between different countries. It is a necessity of human existence as also a very wholesome factor in the cultural wealth of the world. When an individual moves from his native place, he carries along with him the social customs and traditions prevalent in his native place or race or community. The moment he comes in contact with a new society, a process of synthesisation of the social ideas starts. The consequent interaction gives birth to rationalised thinking which sometimes he brings home while returning.

People's movements are, however, governed by certain laws. Their movements are not motiveless. In the State of Jammu and Kashmir too, the movement of the people was stimulated by certain motives. First of all, the people, particularly the nomads, viz., Gujjars, Gaddis and Bakarwals, had to migrate to seek fresh lands and pastures for their livestock. They were seen moving up and down the hills.[59] Their movement was, however, periodic in nature. When the population of certain areas overgrew the resources, the people migrated to the neighbouring lands where there was less pressure and often to well-endowed places in Punjab to earn their livelihood.[60]

Some people from outside the State also used to come here with a view to improving their future prospects.[61] Besides them, others came here as pilgrims to various religious places or as casual visitors to the valley of Kashmir.[62] In the beginning of the 20th century, when free college education was introduced in the State, many students from Punjab and elsewhere also began to come here to avail of the opportunity.[63]

But the number of emigrants largely exceeded that of the immigrants during the winter months when, owing to snowfall in Kashmir, Ladakh and other higher tracts of the State, outdoor life was generally paralysed and labouring classes usually migrated to the adjoining British districts in Punjab. During the summer months, however, this process was reversed and not only the labouring classes returned to their homes but

there was also a large influx of Europeans and Indian visitors to the Kashmir, Gurez of Ladakh districts.[64] The latter category of immigrants also included those who were engaged in the service of the State or the British Government employees working in different parts of the State.

Among the Indian immigrants, it was but natural that the largest chunk of them came from the districts of the contiguous provinces, viz., Hazara of North-West Frontier province and Sialkot, Gurdaspur, Gujrat, Chamba and Patiala of Punjab.[65] Migration from the remote parts of India also took place, but it was insignificant. In this category, the areas included the United Provinces, Bengal, Bombay and Madras.[66]

The influx into Ladakh consisted of traders from Kulu, Kangra and Hoshiarpur, who were engaged in trade with Yarkand and Kashgarh.[67] The immigration into Kashmir was chiefly from Hazara and Rawalpindi side. The traders of Sialkot, Gujranwala, Lahore and Amritsar had even established their business centres in the valley. With the construction of Jehlum valley road in 1893, a large number of businessmen came by that route and settled in Muzaffarabad.[68]

The next important constituent of migrants into Kashmir and Jammu Provinces was that of the Government servants who originally hailed from Punjab and Bengal. In addition to this, there was the social force of intermarriage which led to the settlement and absorption of families from across the State borders.

With regard to emigration from the State, majority of the people used to move to the neighbouring Punjab.[69] After sowing their Rabi crops, it was usual for the poor Kashmiri peasants, who found their outdoor work nearly finished before the commencement of snowfall in winter, to troop to the Punjab towns where they were conspicuous for their load carrying capacity. After any natural calamity in their own land also, the Kashmiri migrants often found a permanent

home in the plains of Punjab and established their permanent business.[70]

There was thus found a large number of Kashmiris in Rawalpindi, Jehlum, Lahore, Amritsar, Ludhiana, and some other minor towns. In 1911, the total number of the Kashmiri Muslims in Punjab was 167,795.[71]

Kangra and Chamba valleys in the Punjab had so much in common with Kishtwar, Bhaderwah, Basohli and Ramnagar in the Jammu Province in respect of both physical features and race, that it was but natural that considerable intermixing of the people of these tracts was a regular phenomena. The Brahmin youths of the Jasmergarh tehsil of the Kathua district frequently sought employment in the neighbouring British territories as domestic servants.[72] A large number of people, mostly Muslims, used to migrate from the valleys of Muzaffarabad and Western and North-Western tehsils of the Kashmir Province to North-Western Frontier Province in search of employment in various fields.

Earlier, under some fanatic Muslim rulers, like Sultan Sikandar (1389-1413), a large number of Kashmiri Hindu families had been forced to leave Kashmir.[73] They had migrated especially to the United Provinces and had settled there permanently. But still they had maintained matrimonial and other social relations with the original dwellers of Kashmir. Among the migrants were also the Kashmiri Pandits there. Later, Kashmiri Muslim traders also emigrated in considerable numbers to that Province as vendors of Kashmiri articles of merchandise. A fair number of people of this State also went to Bombay and more enterprising among them even went as far as Bengal and Burma.[74]

Another factor having an important bearing on the movement of the people was the recruiting campaign carried on in Jammu Province during the First World War when, in addition to the recruits enlisted for the State army, about 18,000

recruits were supplied for the British Indian army.[75] The entire Mirpur district, Tehsil Rajouri and Poonch illaqa made very large contribution in this regard. Again, the Gujjars of the State used to go in the British territories in search of fodder for their cattle and also to work as labourers.[76]

There was also a general tendency among the people to move from one part of the State to the other. In respect of this internal migration, the greatest attraction was afforded by the Jammu city, because of its being the seat of Government during the winter season. The Gujjars, Gaddhis and other pastoral nomads used to descend from higher regions in winter to the warm ones of Udhampur, Riasi and Basohli, and retreated when hot season set in. In Kishtwar, agriculture was very precarious and the failure of crops from severe cold or insufficient rainfall was of frequent occurrence. Grains were then generally imported from Kashmir to meet the shortage of food supply. Consequently, migration between Kishtwar and Tehsil Anantnag, on the one side, and Bhaderwah, on the other, was a normal feature.[77]

There was a large element of Kashmiri population in the Rampur Rajouri and Riasi tehsils of the Riasi district.[78] The pressure on land in Kashmir had forced these people to migrate and settle there permanently because of favourable cultural and climatic conditions.

The geographical conditions in the frontier region of Ladakh were not conducive enough to attract a large number of immigrants. Moreover, the Ladakhis were noted for their stay-at-home tendency. But overcrowding of Tehsil Skardu and the North Western parts of Kargil had led to some emigration of the people to Kashmir and Poonch.[79] A small number of immigrants from Jammu and Kashmir provinces to the frontier districts was contributed by a few State employees and other traders working there.[80] The exchange of population between the two major provinces of the State, Jammu and Kashmir, was due to the political and commercial relations subsisting between these administrative divisions.[81] Moreover,

the Dogra Hindus of Jammu province had established some residential colonies in the valley. In 1871-72, for instance, Maharaja Ranbir Singh had invited the Dogra Rajputs to come and settle in the valley of Kashmir, and were given jagirs for the services they had rendered to the State. His main objective, however, seems to have been to have a certain body of trustworthy men, preferably from his own caste, ready in hand in the event of any disturbance. In addition to this, grants were made to Brahmins, Thakkars, Jehuars and Harijans. They were to work there as menial and serving classes.[82]

This movement of people from one part of the State to another, and to the State from outside became a major factor to generate tension among various communities. The immigrants to the State belonged to the elite group. They were traders, State as well as British Government employees, religious missionaries, casual travellers, etc. They came here with specific motives (political, religious and commercial). To achieve their ends, they adopted all means, fair and foul, and not unoften left bitter memories.

The emigration of State subjects exposed them to various outside influences, good as well as bad. By the latter half of the 19th century, India had witnessed a strong wave of politico-religious awakening. Since Punjab had become an arena of all such movements, naturally it left an impact on the minds of the people, mostly Muslims, who, for certain reasons, had settled permanently in Punjab. They became concerned about the condition of their co-religionists in the State. They highlighted their alleged grievances. Later, it gave birth to a strong communalised political struggle which created further cleavage between the Hindu and Muslim communities.

Similarly, when people of one religious group moved to the areas inhabited by the people of other communities, a process of interaction started. Quite often it helped in rationalising the relations between the different communities. But at the

same time, it had adverse effects also. On certain occasions the original dwellers treated the new comers as encroachers on their personal rights. This gave birth to tensions which sometimes sprouted in the form of communal clashes.

D. Occupational Pattern

An analysis of the occupational pattern of the people is also necessary for the understanding of their mutual relations. We see that the State of Jammu and Kashmir was predominantly an agricultural country. The majority of its inhabitants were either agriculturists or pastoral in their pursuits, or were employed in common labour. Here, even the functional classes largely cultivated land.[83]

Thus, a vast majority of the Kashmiri Sunni Muslim population was engaged in agriculture and its subsidiary occupations.[84] In the valley, they formed a major group, paying more than 85 per cent of the land revenue. The Shias were mainly the owners of shawl industry[85], though they also possessed land.

The next important communities residing in the Kashmir valley were the Kashmiri Pandits and Sikhs who were employed in the State services or engaged in trade.[86] They were also owners of agricultural land, but got their agricultural work done by the Muslim tenants.[87]

Again, the Punjabi Hindus were either Jagirdars or State servants. They, too, got their lands cultivated by the Muslim tenants.[88]

The ancestral occupation of the Muslim Gujjars was rearing of buffaloes. Majority of them were scattered over Poonch, Rampur Rajouri, Riasi and Muzaffarabad. Many of them had now shifted to agriculture as their main occupation[89], and had more or less abandoned their nomadic life. The Gujjars of the eastern hills of Udhampur, Bhaderwah and

Basohli were, however, still living as nomads and used to descend from the higher hills in winter to the warmer regions and at the lower altitude[90], where Hindus predominated.

The Jats, 83 per cent of whom were Muslims, formed another important group whose principal occupation was agriculture. Their principal seat was the Mirpur district.

The other important sections engaged in agriculture were working Rajputs, Thakkars, Muslim Sudhans of Poonch, Balti Muslims, Yashkuns and Buddhists—Mengriks of the Frontier district.[91] Besides them, some Brahmins and Sikhs of Poonch, Mirpur and Muzaffarabad were also working as cultivators.

A large majority of the Rajputs were land owners but their traditional occupation was military service and a Rajput of high caste considered it derogatory to be called an agriculturist. Consequently, some of the Rajputs, who were given jagirs in the valley, got their lands cultivated by the Muslims of the Sunni sect.[92] The working Rajputs of the Jammu province, viz., Chibs, Bhaus, Manhas, and Charaks, tilled their lands with their own hands.[93]

The next occupational group was that of the pastoral nomads. It consisted of Gaddis (Hindus), Bhakarwals and Gujjars (Muslims). They were found on higher ranges of Bhaderwah, Udhampur and Basohli.

Then there were the people whose chief occupation was preaching and performance of religious duties. They included Brahmin priests, Jogis, Sadhus (Hindus) and Darweshas, Pirmuridi Sayyids (Muslims) etc.[94] The Sayyids were also engaged in agriculture[95], trade and State services.

The Muslim Bafindas (Jullahas) and Hindu Meghs were mostly agriculturists, but they also followed their traditional occupation of weaving. The Muslim Bafindas were scattered over the Kathua district, Mirpur, Poonch, Riasi and Muzaffara-

bad, whereas the chief seats of Meghs were in Jammu, Kathua, Udhampur, Riasi and Bhaderwah.

The other important occupational groups were Telis, Lohars, Tarkhans, Hajjams, Dhobis, Aranis, Kumhars, Sochis, Kolis, etc.[96] These people were engaged in the production of ceramics, such as pottery, building, tailoring, shoe-making, washing, cleaning and dyeing.[97] Among them, the Telis and the Dhobis were all Muslims, whereas, the rest had mixed ethnic composition. The Telis were scattered in the Kathua, Jammu, Mirpur and Riasi districts. Their population was also to be found in the Kashmir valley.

The more important trading classes were Aroras, Khatris, Mahajans (Hindus), Khojas and Sheikhs (Muslims).[98] But the proportion of the Sheikhs who were actually engaged in trade was very small as compared to those who derived their livelihood from agriculture.

The Khojas, who were settled in large numbers in Udhampur, Poonch and the Kashmir valley, enjoyed the same position as was done by the Hindu Mahajans.[99] Besides carrying on trade, they lent money to the cultivators on a very ascribable system locally called *wadh*.[100]

The Sheikhs were, on the other hand, sparsely scattered over the whole of the State. But the Khatris, Aroras and Mahajans were concentrated in the Jammu province. Khatris and Aroras were well represented among the Sikhs also who followed their traditional occupation of trade. These business communities possessed land too, mostly in mortgage, which was got cultivated by the tenants.[101]

State services were pre-eminently the occupation of Rajputs, both Hindus and Muslims, Kashmiri Pandits, and non-working Brahmins. But Khatris and Aroras also were well represented in various departments. Among these occupational groups, the Hindu Rajputs, Mohyal Brahmins and Muslim Rajputs[102] chiefly sought employment in the defence services.

The chief seat of Hindu Rajputs was the Duggar illaqa (South Eastern portion of Jammu province), whereas the Muslim Rajputs were confined to Poonch, Jammu, Mirpur, Riasi and Muzaffarabad.

The lower caste Hindus, such as Basiths, Dooms and Barwalas, took up labour and menial service as their chief occupation.

The Pathans had established their residential colonies in Kashmir and pursued agriculture as their principal occupation.[103] Some of them, however, worked as labourers.

The sweepers of Jammu, a number of whom had become Christians, the Muslim Watals of Kashmir, and the Dooms of Jammu, both Hindu and Muslim, were also engaged in menial services and general cleanliness.

E. Social Stratification

Perhaps no other social institution in India has attracted so much attention of the social scientists as the system of caste. Caste has been considered to be the fundamental unit of the social structure among Indian communities. It has played a unique role in the socio-economic and religious life of the people through the ages.

The caste system in its true form existed in the State only in the Dogra illaqa where the influence of Brahmins had been always the strongest. Here the complete hierarchy and sub-castes were met with in their perfection.[104] Restrictions on inter-dining and inter-marriage were in vogue and had all the stringency of the caste rules.[105] Even the Muslims of this area had accepted the social segmentation of the caste system and abided by its numerous restrictions.

In the valley of Kashmir, however, there had been intermingling of the local and foreign tribes as a result of some

social, political and religious factors, on the one hand, and physical and climatic conditions, on the other, and this had transformed the Kashmiris into a distinct identity.[106] Similarly, the classification of society according to castes was not there in the Frontier districts because Buddhism, like Islam, recognised no caste or other social distinctions.[107]

Among the Ladakhis, Hindus and Muslims, however, some social differentiation was usually made from social and occupational points of view rather than on racial considerations. The Buddhist society was thus broadly divided into three sections. These were Rigzang or political elite who were upper class people. The Mengriks or religious elite and the officers employed in the Raja's palace came in the middle class. The common gentry which held status higher than those of the menial class also fell under this category. Last of all came the people who were engaged in menial work. They were known as Rignun.[108] The Muslims of the Frontier regions, the majority of whom were Buddhist converts, also followed the practice as prevalent in the Buddhist Ladakh.

In the Jammu division was to be seen along the traditional caste system, the priestly Brahmins, the ruling and military Kshatriyas, the trading Vaishyas and serving Sudras. Further, within each of these castes there was a long range of divisions and sub-divisions which were made still more extensive by means of geographical, linguistic, occupational and family distinctions. Occupationally, the Brahmins were divided into two major sub-divisions, i.e., agricultural and non-agricultural. Ordinary agriculturist Brahmins were found in large numbers in Jammu, Kathua and lower parts of the Udhampur district.[109]

The non-agriculturist Brahmins were engaged in occupations like military and civil services, and in the performance of religious ceremonies. The military section of the Brahmin community was found in the largest number in Jammu and Mirpur districts.[110]

Second in hierarchy were the Rajputs. They were divided into various sub-sections most of which had sprung upon the

localisation of families and their connection with the rulers of various small principalities into which these hills were formerly divided.[111] Thus, there were Jamwals, Samyals, Balaurias, Sumbrias, Bhadwals, Jasrotias, etc., who came from direct or remote lineage of the ruling families of Jammu, Samba, Billawar, Sumbrata, Bhaddu and Jasrota. The Rajputs of this category and also of some others were further classified into two groups. Those people of the above mentioned category were known as Mians[112] and those, who, over the years, had taken to agriculture and so had degraded themselves to the lower strata of caste hierarchy were called the working Rajputs.[113] They were also classified as non-cultivating Rajputs called 'Jaikarias' and cultivating Rajputs called 'Salamias'.[114]

After the Brahmins and Rajputs came the Khatris. Basically, they were a business community, but many of them were also engaged in Government services. In the social hierarchy they were treated higher than the Thakkars.[115] The latter formed the chief cultivating class in the hills of Jammu province. They were considered to be very low in the social rung of the Rajputs.[116] They owed their degradation to the practice of revolting against the sense of propriety in social matters cherished by higher caste Rajputs, such as widow-marriage, freedom of widows, begetting of children by unmarried girls, contraction of incestuous marriage, and inter-marriage with other castes.[117]

Among the lower caste Hindus were the Nais, Kumhars, Tarkhans, Lohars, Thathiars, Sochis, Dosalis, Girths, Sunars, Jhiwars and Kolis.[118] No doubt, the high caste Hindus did not inter-mix with them frequently, but these menial classes were not treated as untouchables.

Last of all in the hierarchy of the Hindus stood Meghs, Dooms, Chamars, Batwals, Barwalas, Basith, etc. They were mostly scavengers and engaged in other kinds of manual work considered unclean.[119]

A striking feature of the caste system was the ethnological conditions in the higher hills of Jammu. Here the people of all

castes acted chiefly according to the natural exigencies of life and were guided by the promptings of their individual consciousness. Even the people of higher castes had bidden farewell to the restrictions placed by Brahmins on commensality, marriage, occupations etc. For instance, the Rajputs, Thakkars, Brahmins and Kashmiri Pandits of Padar, Dachhin and Bhalesa (in Bhaderwah) and Kishtwar not only dined but also had matrimonial relations among themselves.[120] This was the reason why the people of this area were looked down upon by the people of the same caste living in the plains of Jammu or in Kashmir.

It may, however, be borne in mind that Islam does not permit differentiation of its followers into castes. According to Islamic theology, all the Muslims are brothers and taboos with regard to different types of social interaction have no place in Islam.[121] But in India, even while rejecting the hierarchical degradation inherent in the system of caste stratification, the Muslims had gradually come to accept the social segmentation of the caste system as was practised among the Hindus as natural and abided by numerous restrictions.[122]

In Jammu and Kashmir State too, every grade of Hindu society was represented in the Muslim population. But the caste rules retained the greatest hold on the Muslims of the western and south-western parts here.[123] In addition to the racial divisions, they had almost every Hindu caste. Besides Sayyids,[124] Mughals and Pathans who were the descendants of foreign tribes, these were thus the Sheikhs, who were the converts from the Kashmiri Hindus.[125] There were other Muslim sub-divisions, such as Bhats, Dars, Pandits, Rainas, Razdans, Rishis, Zutshis—all Islamised Brahmins.[126] The Chibber Muslims in western portion of the Jammu province represented the Brahmin caste. Those Muslims who felt proud to trace their lineage to Rajputs were Chibs, Bhottis, Pals, Sudhans, Minhas, Domals, Charaks, Jarals, Bombas and Khakhas of Muzaffarabad. They not only retained the old caste names but also most of the Hindu customs and practices.[127] The Khojas of Udhampur and Poonch and Wanis of

Kashmir were the Banias of Vaishya class. They have retained their traditional occupation to the present day.[128]

Among the lower caste Muslims were the Bafindas (Jullahas), Aranis, Hajjams (Naods in Kashmir), Kumhars (Kraals in Kashmir), Lohars (Khars in Kashmir), Dhobis, Tarkhan (Chans in Kashmir), Teli (Tel wanis), Hanjis etc. They were engaged in menial work. There were also the people who stood at the lowest rung of the caste hierarchy. They included Mochis, Dooms and Batals.[129]

In the Muslim community there was no restriction on inter-dining among the upper castes (Ajlafs). But, as the matrimonial relations involved sentiments, the Muslims of almost all the castes, and especially of Rajput origin, were very particular in finding match for their children. Consequently, each caste had evolved a code of conduct as to whom to give and from whom to take girls in marriage.[130] Such a code definitely enjoyed a very strong social sanction which none dared to violate in ordinary circumstances. Moreover, the Muslims of Indian origin followed the same traditions in conducting their marriages as were practised by the Hindus of the same castes.[131]

Sikhism also accepts no distinction based on caste hierarchy. But in the State there prevailed restrictions as to inter-dining and inter-marriages among the various sub-sections of the Sikhs. There were many Sikhs who had been baptised from various castes, such as Brahmins[132], Rajputs, Khatris, Tarkhans and also Bhists, who came from the lowest strata of Hinduism.

But among the Buddhists of Ladakh no distinction was made on the basis of social status as was prevalent among the Muslims. Here some differentiation was made from the occupational point of view, as already said. Generally, there was no restriction as to inter-dining among the various grades of the society.

The constitution of Muslim population of Ladakh was on the same lines as of the Buddhists. But the social distinctions had been multiplied by the inclusion in their society of some outside families, like the Sayyids who claimed origin from foreign tribes. Anyhow, the rest of the Ladakhi Muslims were Buddhist converts and they had lost all their former social divisions.[133]

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Genesis of Amity and Communal Cordiality

With the knowledge of important factors which have a great bearing on the inter-communal relations and some background of the features of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, let us now pass on to the study of these relations.

It is an innate tendency of all sane persons to live in peace with others. "Live and let live" is the basic principle of life in any civilized society. An individual, who reaches the height of progress but feels no pleasure in other's progress, can't be considered a civilized person. Similar principle applies to different societies also. A society can be termed as civilized only if it believes in the motto of peaceful co-existence. But anger and jealousy are as much a part of human behaviour as tendency to love. As long as these traits in a person remain balanced, he exhibits, a normal behaviour. But when the one out-measures the other, his behaviour tilts in one direction. It would indeed be an interesting exercise for any one to examine the factors and forces which stimulate these basic tendencies of human nature which, in turn, contribute either towards amity or tension in a group of persons or society. And we would do that here in the case of society in the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

A. GENESIS OF AMITY

Common Cultural Background

Culture has a deep-rooted impact on an individual in shaping his life style. Even change of religion cannot overcome the cultural legacy inherited from the past. In the Indian context, this fact is all the more visible in all those individuals or societies which once professed a religion of Indian origin but later on switched over to Islam or Christianity. Their way of life has been as much influenced by the Indian culture as of those who get religious inspiration from this land. Thus, it is a major cementing force which helps in bringing the converts close to the people of their former religion. This is, again, one of the reasons why the Indian Muslims as well as Christians are closer to the Hindu way of life than to their co-religionists' elsewhere. No wonder, this fact often helps in eliminating the communal hatred otherwise generated by the vested interests.

It has already been mentioned that an overwhelming majority of the Muslims of the State belonged to the original Indian stock. Their ancestors had been living as Hindus since the times immemorial. They handed over to their convert descendants a cultural legacy which became inseparable even after the latter became Muslims.[1]

Thus we see that in those areas of the State where the Muslim converts had descended from the higher caste Hindus especially, the traditional Hindu outlook and social forms were naturally retained to a great extent.[2] Even the caste prejudices, objection to the widow remarriage and love of rituals and image worship continued there. Similar to the Muslim Rajputs, the high caste Muslims of Gilgit, viz., Rajas, Rouns and Shins, gave their daughters in marriage generally to the boys belonging to the caste considered higher than their's.[3] Both Hindus and Muslims observed similar ceremonies of birth, death and marriage and had much the same fairs and

festivals.[4] Mere conversion to another religion could not separate them from their old cultural background.

But the conversion did bring about a change in their social status vis-a-vis the people of their former caste group. Now, the Hindus did not consider them fit for keeping matrimonial relations and such other social relations which involved caste prejudices.[5] Among themselves, however, those converts who formerly belonged to higher castes, succeeded in retaining their social status in the new society also. Even after their conversion, therefore, the people belonging to lower castes remained inferior in the new social set-up. Both the caste Hindus and the high caste Muslims maintained social distance from the lower caste converts[6] in matters of marriage and social intercourse. Thus, in Islam, a Muslim Jullaha could not acquire a status higher than a Hindu Megh, the sub-caste he held before his conversion to Islam.[7] Similarly, a Hindu Wattal remained a Wattal in the new religious social group also. All these were the outcastes for the people of higher origin in both the religions. Obviously, the change of religion did not bring about any structural change in the social organisation of the Muslims. With the exception of relations connected with inter-marriage and inter-dining, there came very little change in the relations of the people belonging to different communities. The Muslims, therefore, did not become odd men in the society.

Moreover, Muslim interaction with the Hindus for centuries had narrowed down whatever differences had cropped up due to differences in their religious philosophies.[8] The fact that Hinduism has a unique quality of tolerance and adaptability with the people following different ways of life became another contributing factor for this development.

As dress, food habits and language are primarily governed by climatic conditions, the variations in them more often reflect class or nationality rather than communal distinction. Consequently, the bulk of the population of the State, who were converted to Islam, underwent little change in this respect

also. Thus, the Muslims of south-eastern portion of the Jammu province used almost the same dress as was worn by their Hindu neighbours.[9] In Kashmir, both Hindus and Muslims wore "Phiran". Similarly, the Muslim and Hindu males of Muzaffarabad and other adjoining areas of North-West Frontier Province used *Salwar* as it was a popular dress in that area. Again, there was hardly any difference in the clothes used by the people of Ladakh, Buddhists as well as Muslims.

Pardah system was an Islamic institution. But it was adopted by the Hindus, especially of higher castes, also. This became another point of resemblance in the two communities. Similarly, there was a close resemblance in the food habits of the people of different communities.[10] The only distinction between the two communities in eating habits was introduced by meat eating. Almost the whole of the Muslim population was non-vegetarian. They took flesh of the animals and slaughtered them according to their practice of *Zabah*.[11] But majority of them abstained from beef eating, although it is permissible according to their religion. Only the Gujjars, Bakarwals and other lower castes among them took to it.[12] Almost the whole of the Muslim Rajput population abstained from eating it. Again, beef did not come in the category of Indian national diet. It was yet another reason why an overwhelming majority of the Muslims did not include beef in their food. Little wonder, the cow-slaughter, which was a major bone of contention between Hindus and Muslims elsewhere in India, rarely became a cause of communal disturbances in the State.[13] The fact that cow-slaughter was a criminal offence in the State was an additional factor which contributed towards such a state of affairs.[14]

There was also no question of any change in language of the people with the change in their religion. Here again, the area or tribal factor[15] played a major role.

There was great resemblance in the matter of superstitions also between the Hindus and Muslims. Thus, the Hindu superstition of evil eye and habits of bathing and ceremonial

purity had been adopted by the majority of Muslims. Many Rajput converts retained their family names and felt proud of their Rajput origin.[16] They still performed many Hindu rites and ceremonies. They preferred to be called Mians, Rajputs, Thakurs, etc., and admitted to being a mixture of Hindus and Muslims. Some of them, especially of the Chibhal illaqa, had matrimonial alliances with Hindu Rajputs. Frederick Drew says, "The Mohammadans on the border were not, and are not very strong in their faith, they retained many Hindu fashions and some even have an idol in their houses. Till quite lately it was their custom to marry Hindu women of the same caste and these remained Hindu and did not adopt Islam, this is no longer done; but when I was in the country some women of that sort were still alive".[17]

The Hindu joint family system and, in many cases, the Hindu property law were followed by Muslims.[18] Monogamy was the general rule among a large majority of them.

Economic-Interdependence

Economy has always been a major driving force in shaping the behavioural and social pattern of people and their inter-relationship. The State being primarily an agricultural country, a majority of its people were dependent on this and its subsidiary occupations.[19] And, agriculture being a pursuit which requires joint efforts, the people, irrespective of their religious beliefs, were inter-dependent in many matters. Thus, a Hindu agriculturist was wholly dependent on a Muslim Teli or Jullaha of the area for the fulfilment of basic requirements.[20] Similarly, a Muslim peasant sought the help of a Hindu neighbour during the peak season of sowing. Consequently, these people often forgot their religious diversities and were always ready to give a helping hand to each other. Moreover, the barter system, which was applied in all sorts of exchange, still held good in this part of the country, and required intimate social relations for its smooth working. Their economic inter-dependence also explains the good relations between the peasants who were all Sunnis, and their landlords who were Hindus. The lack of this inter-dependence to any large

extent between the Shia Muslims, most of whom were engaged in the shawl industry, and the Hindus again accounts for their not so good mutual relations.

Often the big landlords of one community were dependent on the cultivators of another religious group. There are, thus, many instances when Muslim cultivators were engaged in various lands attached to the Dharmarth Trust and also to the Temples and Gurdwaras.[21] In the Muslim dominated areas of Jammu province, most of the business of the Hindu money-lenders and other shopkeepers was dependent on Muslim clients.[22] The latter were not ready to break economic relations under ordinary circumstances. Similarly, the Muslim pastoral nomads, viz., Gujjars and Bakarwals, had to approach the Hindu landholders every winter to seek pasture lands for their animal hordes.[23]

Again, it was the economic compulsion of Kashmiri Hindus, who could not get menial workers from among their own community, which broke the religious taboo of not employing Muslim workers in their household works, which amounted to pollution.

The institutions of early marriage and joint family system along the Muslims, a legacy from the old Hindu customs, also had economic base. A farmer wanted to marry his son early so that his daughter-in-law might add to the manpower required in cultivation.[24] Similarly, the joint family could provide as many hands as required for doing multifarious works in cultivation.

General poverty was another important feature which created a feeling of oneness among the poor of all communities. Their interests, habits and tastes were identical. They considered poverty as a curse from the Heaven. They were always seen busy in earning their bread to keep their body and soul together. Hence, they had not enough time to act or react to complicated issues concerning religion.

It was again this section of people who were the common victims of different natural calamities. Famines, droughts and

dreaded diseases, like cholera, influenza, plague and malaria, took a heavy toll of life during the period of our study.[25] These calamities made no distinction between a Hindu and a Muslim. So, when a Hindu passed away before the eyes of a Muslim, it created a fear psychosis in the minds of the latter that one day he might also meet the same fate. No doubt, the natural calamities formed a negative factor, yet it proved to be a great binding force between the down-trodden sections among all the communities.

Geographical Factor

It has been observed that the people of remote areas were having more cordial relations between themselves than those who were living near the Punjab borders. Obviously, the high mountains and difficult accessibility had played their role in checking the spread of communal virus to these areas. Hence, the whole of Ladakh district and the montaneous and semi-montaneous parts of the State were almost free from the communal tension. Although only a few Hindus had been left in the Frontier Districts, yet the Muslims of these areas were less conservative and still retained many old Hindu customs and practices. Shins among them had all the reverence for the cow. They treated it as a sacred animal.[26] Some of the tribes there cremated their dead, according to the Hindu practice. On the contrary, the areas, which were easily approachable or situated in close proximity to the places of communal hot beds in Punjab were more prone to communalism. Mirpur, Poonch and Rajouri were, accordingly, the various places where the communalists could easily approach the people from across the Punjab borders. Similarly, the people residing in cities and towns were within the easy approach of the vested interests and new influences. They were also liable to easily cast off their old cultural legacy. That is why majority of the communal disturbances took place either in the urban areas of Srinagar, Poonch, Baramula and Mirpur or in the villages of the Rajouri and Mirpur districts, near the Punjab border.

Political Reasons

In the initial years of Maharaja Golab Singh's rule, the Muslim political elites tried to destabilize the infant Dogra

Kingdom. Sheikh Imam-ud-din, the ex-Sikh Governor of Kashmir, instigated the Muslim Jagirdars who wrote petitions to the Government of India, alleging that Golab Singh was committing atrocities on the local Muslims.[27] These elements also spread the rumour that Muslims of the State had risen en mass against the introduction of Golab Singh's rule.[28] But the Maharaja succeeded in quelling their activities with a heavy hand. The Dogra rule was then firmly established and there was little chance of its destabilization. Moreover, the British Government's assurance to give "aid to Maharaja Golab Singh in protecting his territories from external enemies"[29] convinced the Muslim political elite of the futility of their attempt to dislodge the Dogra authority.

Once secure in their position, the Dogra kings showed political wisdom by protecting the status, dignity and honour of the Muslim traditional elites. They brought no change in their composition. On the contrary, they strengthened their position by granting some of them additional grants of land.[30] Thus the Muslim political elite, which could have proved a major anti-Hindu Government factor, was fully contended with the new ruling authority.

Moreover, the Muslims of the State had not forgotten the tyrant Pathan rulers (1753-1819) who, though Muslims, did not differentiate between a Hindu and a Muslim while letting loose their reign of terror.[31] Similarly, the Sikh rulers (1819-46), though better than their predecessors, did practically nothing to better the deplorable condition of the masses of Kashmir. They were not so barbaric in their treatment, but they were hard and rough masters.[32] On the other hand, the Dogra rule not only succeeded in providing geographical expression to the modern State of Jammu and Kashmir, but also brought about complete stability in political, economic and religious fields.[33] Thus, it proved to be a great relief to the people of the State.

Another factor which proved beneficial in creating a feeling of oneness among the people of various communities was the

equality of all before the law. The rule of law was, indeed, the basis of the Dogra rule. No distinction was made between a Hindu and a Muslim when the question of law came. Besides the Hindu codes, the Muslim law of Shariat-i-Mohammad and tribal codes were also applied to decide cases.[34] Naturally, it was a matter of satisfaction for the majority Muslim population of the State that they were treated at par with the Hindus. They were aware of the fact that even the Britishers, who claimed to be great patrons of the principle of the rule of law, had different rules for their Indian and European subjects, simply because they were a ruling race in India. On the contrary, though the Hindus, and especially the Rajputs, belonged to the ruling authority in the State, yet hardly any distinction was made here between them and the rest.

The Dogra rulers were very tolerant in the matter of religion also. They never interfered in the religious affairs of the masses.[35] The people of different communities were free to worship according to their religious principles. While this policy created goodwill for them in the hearts of common men, it created a fear psychosis in those of the communal elements.

B. COMMUNAL CORDIALITY

At the outset we may mention that lhe objective of all the religious philosophies is often said to be more or less the same. All religions hold the same truth and all scriptures preach the same thing. If ever there is any difference, it is there in their respective means. But their ultimate end is the attainment of Salvation, or to be one with God. Thus, it is a purely private affair related with one's inner conscience. Notwithstanding, when religion becomes a tool in the hands of selfish elements, then it drifts from its fundamental objective. And history is full of evidences when religion was misused as a weapon against opponents. Again, in a ethnically pluralistic society, the interaction among the various religious groups results in a social synthesis in their way of life. The natural process of give and take passes through a path of cohesion and conflict,

which becomes an interesting chapter in the history of that society.

The various religious philosophies which emerged on the Indian soil (Sanatan, Bodh, Jain, Sikh and Arya Samaj) show no or a little dissimilarity in their fundamentals. All of them come under the purview of Hindu culture. But the other religions which originated in Middle East (Islam, Christianity, etc.), but finally came to India, received nourishment in entirely different cultural atmosphere. So it was quite natural that their fundamentals would vary from the faiths of Indian origin. Secondly, all these religious philosophies i.e., Hinduism, Islam and Christianity, possessed a rich cultural background. So, there was less chance of complete assimilation of one into the other[36], as had been the case with Hinduism vis-a-vis the earlier invaders, like Greeks, Seythians, Kushans, and the Huns.[37] Yet their interaction left a far-reaching effect on the life style of different ethnic groups here. Consequently, it is because of this Indian influence that the Indian Muslims as well as Christians today are a group distinct from their co-religionists elsewhere.[38] Similarly, the Indian culture owes much to their cultural legacy in India. Therefore, it is an interesting study to trace the inter-communal relations among the various ethnical groups which had radical differences in their socio-religious ideas, but lived side by side for centuries together. But we would here, obviously, confine ourselves to the study of the problem so far as the State of Jammu and Kashmir is concerned during the period from 1846 to 1931.

Cultural Inter-action

Kashmir used to be a great seat of Hindu culture before the 14th century when the process of Islamisation started there. But contrary to the degree of Brahminical influence in Yamuna-Gangetic plains, the society of Kashmir did not present that conservative picture of Hinduism which prevailed in the former region. Perhaps it was due to geographical isolation of Kashmir from the rest of India or its close proxi-

mity to the north-west, the gateway to India, which had witnessed the influx of a large number of foreigners to this subcontinent and consequently had to bear the brunt of their barbarities.

Again, before the advent of Islam here, the Kashmir society was an equal partner in the task of assimilation of the foreign tribes in its ranks. But by the time Islam penetrated the Indian soil, the Indian society had lost its digestive power which it had demonstrated in the earlier times.[39] The same was true of Kashmir also. Naturally, the Muslims succeeded in maintaining their separate identity.

Having come to India, Islamic zealots applied force as well as persuasion to make conversions.[40] Thus, as elsewhere in India[41], so in Jammu and Kashmir also the overwhelming majority of the Muslims came to belong to the Indian stock. No doubt, the new religion presented before them a new way of life, yet they failed to cast off their old cultural ties. Consequently, they came to have a distinct character from their co-religionists across the Hindu Kush.[42]

This is all the more true of the State of Jammu and Kashmir. In the Province of Kashmir, particularly very few Muslims came from outside, and an overwhelming population of it came to consist of converts from Hinduism. Naturally, the process of Islamisation here brought within its fold people of all the Hindu castes, viz., Brahmins, Rajputs, Vaishyas and Shudras. Thus, almost all the Hindu sub-castes were represented in the ranks of the Muslims was more visible in the south-western portion of the Jammu Province[43] than elsewhere. This was so because it was here that the Brahminical influence had always been the strongest and complete. Consequently, the hierarchy of castes and sub-castes of the Hindus was found among the Muslims.[44]

Corresponding to the Hindu Brahmins, there were Sheikhs who traced their lineage to the Kashmiri Pandits.[45] The other

Mohammadanised Brahmins were Bhats, Dars, Pandits, Rainas, Razdans, Rishis, Zutshis, etc. In Jammu Province, the Chibber Muslims were drawn from the caste of Chibber Brahmins.[46] Wanis were the Kashmiri form of Bania (Vaishya).[47] In Jammu Province Jats and Muslims of various Rajput castes formed the bulk of the population in the Western districts.[48]

Similarly, almost all the lower caste Hindus had their counterparts in the Muslim community. Even the principle of equality of all the Muslims could not help them uplift their social status. Their profession, which was of inferior nature, came in their way. Frederic Drew, while explaining their position, writes, "Like the Dums of the Outer Hills, the Batels (Muslims) have to do the dirtiest work; it is a part of their trade to remove skin carcass and to cure leather.... The higher Batels follow the Mohammadan rules as to eating and are allowed into some fellowship with the other Mohammadans. The lower Batels eat Carrion, and would not bear the name of Mussalman in the lips of others, though they might call themselves so".[49] The inter marriage with the lower-caste Muslims, like Kamins and Dooms, were deprecated by all Muslims. The sons of the low-caste woman were not allowed to succeed equally with those of the born to high caste mother. In the former case, the sons got only maintenance instead of equal share in the ancestral property.[50]

Among the Hindus, a peculiar feature of the matrimonial system was the double rule—the prohibition of marriage outside the caste and obligation of marriage outside *Gotra*.[51] As a result of the effect of this custom on the local Muslims, there came about a minute distinction between various sections among them as to which caste gave and which took girls in marriage.[52] These bindings were adhered to with great pride. Similarly, Gujjars among the Muslims strictly followed *Gotra* rule while settling their marriages [53]

Besides retaining the old caste rules, the Muslims also followed the customs and practices of their former religion,

though these varied in degree of intensity from region to region and according to the length of period its inhabitants had been under the influence of Islam. Thus, in Jammu Province, the Muslims, especially of the Rajput caste, still retained the old caste names and observed most of the Hindu customs and practices. The former rulers of Rajouri, who originally belonged to the Rajput caste of Hindus, still held the title of 'Raja' which was of Hindu origin.[54] The Muslims holding the title of Raja were found in the Frontier Illaqa also.[55]

The Rajput Muslims even got their ears pierced and used ear rings. They wore the same dress as was used by their co-casteists among the Hindus. They followed Hindu rules in regard to matrimony, favoured child marriage and hated widow-remarriage.[56] It may further be interesting to note that the Muslims of the State retained some belief in Astrology. Some of them followed Hindu rituals of marriage. Besides undergoing the 'Nikkah' ceremony, they performed all marriage '*Sanskaras* prevalent among the Hindus.[57] They still had family *Purohits* (Priest) and paid them customary dues which they got from the Hindus.

The Muslims of Kashmir still believed in fixing the days of marriage. The bridegroom and bride were addressed as Maharaja and Maharani respectively. They used the same dress on the auspicious occasion of marriage, as was worn by their Hindu neighbours.[58]

The Muslims, especially of Rajput caste, frequently paid homage to the Hindu Devis, Devatas and local spirits.[59] They even plastered the floor of their house with cowdung[60] which was considered auspicious among the Hindus.

In the district of Gilgit, Shins seemed to believe in Hinduism before their conversion to Islam. Formerly, it is believed that they did not eat beef and drink cow's milk or touch a vassel containing it.[61] These feelings were, however, fading away day by day. But still, following the superstitions of the Hindus, they often made over their cows and calves to Yashkuns to be restored to them when the calf was weaned[62], because among Hindus, the cow, which gave birth to a new calf, was considered unclean for certain days. They regarded the domestic fowls as unclean and, consequently, in the villages chiefly inhabited by the Shins, fowls were rarely seen.[63] They also regarded the burning of the twigs of chilli plant as having a power of purification. Further, among the Shin caste, the marriage of first cousin or other relation within that degree, such as uncle and niece, was strictly prohibited, though it was allowed by the Muslim law. It was as late as in 1840's that the Astor Muslims even burnt the dead against the practice in Islam.[64]

In the Frontier districts, a peculiar class of people known as Yashkuns or Arghuns had emerged as a result of the union between Buddhist women and Muslim fathers who were traders from Kashmir and Yarkand. Another class of people also came into being due to the union between the Dogra men and Ladakhi women. They were called *Ghulamzadas*, meaning slave born.[65]

As the Ladakhi Muslims originally belonged to the stock of Buddhism, they still retained some of their old customs. Thus, they drank *Chhang*, a sort of country beer which was especially taken as a beverage at the Buddhist ceremonies.[66] They participated in the fairs and festivals of the Buddhists.

In Gilgit, the Muslims frequently worshipped the local Buddhist *Ratho Devata*. This was done to overcome a family trouble. But the customary service was performed by a Mullah and a goat or sheep was also then sacrificed, in accordance with the Muslim practice.[67]

The rule of adoption is of Indian origin. It is said to have been discarded by Prophet Mohammad. But the Muslims of the State, both Shias and Sunnis, followed this rule as a routine.[68] An adopted son was treated as good as a real one. He was treated as a legal heir to inherit the property of his adopted father.

One of the meeting places of the people of different religious groups was the *Dargah* (Tomb) of 'Peers' (religiousmen). These places were scattered all over the State[69] and the people, irrespective of their creed, visited them, especially on Thursdays. It was common among the devotees to "ask for mannat" (to ask for boon, a special grant from the deity). They believed that the Peers were credited with powers to promote their welfare. It was a strong synthesis of Hindu or Muslim ways of worship. Similarly, in almost every village, there was a place of Panjpeer. According to the local traditions, both Hindus and Muslims used to ask for a boon to get their domestic animals relieved of certain disease or to help them in the recovery of their missing animals. If the ailing animal recovered or a strayed animal came back, *Sheerni* was offered to Panjpeers.[70]

In spite of the fact that the pardah system was of Muslim origin, it was observed with great rigidity by the women of the Hindu Rajputs. They used even veils as was done by the high class Muslim women to conceal themselves from the strangers.[71]

Like the Muslims, and unlike their conservative counterparts, the Kashmiri Pandits were not so particular in matters of pollution by touch. They generally employed Muslims as domestic servants and also as watermen. The latter were also connected with their other household work prone to pollution if touched by a Muslim, such as the carriage and delivery of cooked food and *Bhaji* (sweetmeats) prepared for distribution amongst the members of their castemen and other relatives on the occasion of ceremonial rites.[72]

Moreover, differences in faith hardly created any difference in the clothes and food habits of the masses of all the communities. Geography was the main deriving factor which had bearing on this aspect of the social life.

No doubt, the orthodox amongst the people did try to adhere to the various directions provided by the religious guides. Moreover, the Muslims considered it irreligious to

take pork. They also took the meat of animals cut according to the Muslim style known as Zabah.[73]

Little wonder, W.R. Lawrence says, "If comparison be made between the customs of Hindus and Muslims, it will be seen that there are many points of resemblance, and the curious prominence of the walnut and salt and the use of Mendhi dye, will be noticed. Besides the *Mehazrol* or use of Mendhi dye, in both religions there is the *laganchir* or the fixing of the marriage days; *phirsal*, the visit paid by the bridegroom to the bride's house after marriage; *gulimiut*, the giving of money and jewels; the dress and the title of the bridegroom as Maharaja and the bride as Maharani; *chudsu*, the giving of presents on the 4th day after death and the *wehrawari* and the *barkhi* the celebrations respectively of the birth and the day of death".[74]

Social and Economic Interaction

As was the case with the inter-cultural influences, so also did the social and economic relations of the people foster feelings and ties of brotherhood and cordiality among the members of different religious groups. Under normal circumstances, both the Hindus and Muslims kept their relations to the level of *Bartan*. In small villages, it was customary to invite all the inhabitants, Hindu as well as Muslim, to a marriage, and all the invitees offered *Tambol*[75] to the host family. In case the host belonged to a Muslim family, a special Hindu cook was arranged to prepare food for the Hindu guests. But generally, no special arrangements were made for the Muslim invitees by a Hindu host. Similarly, people of all the communities used to console the bereaved family for the loss of a life.

On many other social occasions also, such as after the harvest, people of different religious groups shared their joys together.

It was customary among the Muslims to sacrifice he-goats on the Id-ul-Fittr day. As a goodwill gesture they used to distribute its meat among the Hindu neighbourers also. Though

the animal was sacrificed in accordance with the Muslim law[76], yet the Hindus accepted it without any prejudice.

A village was, in fact, an integrated economic unit, and a villager, whatever his faith, was dependent on his neighbour for his basic requirements. This economic-interdependence became an important deriving factor to keep the village community as one unit. It helped in removing certain irritants which sometimes developed due to the socio-religious differences.

No doubt, whenever there was a clash of economic interests between various communities, it became responsible for dividing them on communal lines. But, as we have already noted, a vast majority of the people of Jammu and Kashmir were engaged in agriculture and its subsidiary occupations[77] which demanded joint efforts. Therefore, the people, who followed agriculture as a principal occupation, often looked for help towards their neighbours; and their inter-relations were on equality basis. Barter system was followed even in the exchange of man power.[78] If a Hindu peasant was helped in cultivation by his Muslim neighbour, it was a moral duty of the Hindu agriculturist to help his co-occupations in times of need. It was a general rule followed by all concerned. Besides cultivation, the construction of houses, cutting of grass and fencing of fields were some of the other occasions when mutual help was necessarily sought.

Moreover, big Jagirdars and other landlords of both the communities got their lands cultivated by tenants.[79] These tenants were drawn from various communities. Thus, in the Kashmir valley, the Hindu and Sikh landlords got their lands tilled by the Sunni Muslims.[80] Tenants were also engaged in the cultivation of Muafi lands attached to the Dharmarth Fund[81], temples, mosques, ziarats and gurdwaras.[82] These requirements of both the landed elite and the peasants of different communities brought them nearer to each other. No doubt, there were certain irritants in the relationship between landlords and the tenants, but adherence to a particular religious philosophy hardly came in the way of their economic relations.

Moreover, the village menials were both Hindus and Muslims. Those among them who had been converted to Islam had not changed their ancestral profession. Thus, there were the Telis and Jullahas who were engaged in supplying the people mustard oil and clothes respectively, the basic essentials of human life. As both these sections of people belonged to the Muslim community, naturally the Hindus as well as the Muslims used to seek their cooperation.[83] Tarkhans and Lohars, both Hindu and Muslim, helped the peasants in supplying them with agricultural tools and also in the construction work. Similarly, Kumhars, Chamiars or Mochis, Sochis, Kohlis and Dhobis, who worked as subsidiaries to the agriculturists[84] in the Jammu Province especially, had a mixed ethnical composition.

If these village workers supplied the peasants with all the necessary requirements, the peasants reciprocated with the supply of foodgrains to them during the harvest times. The farmer either had a small land holding of their own, or they were totally dependent on the produce supplied by their clients.

There were, then, the Sahukars and other moneylenders who had direct relations with the peasants of different communities. In the absence of cooperative banks, the poor peasants often approached them to seek financial help. And, with the exception of some Muslim Khojas and Jagirdars, all other moneylenders belonged to the Mahajan caste of Hindus.[85] They had been engaged in lending money to peasants since times immemorial. In the Mirpur District as well as in Poonch illaqa, majority of their customers belonged to the Muslim community.[86] Being shrewd and greedy, they used to exploit the helplessness of their poor clients, and so long as no one came to raise voice against their highhandedness on communal lines, the relations between the Hindu Sahukars and the Muslim peasantry remained cordial.[87]

Again, in the Jammu division, an overwhelming majority of the shopkeepers and traders belonged to the Hindu community.[88] Naturally, the masses of various communities were dependent upon them for getting the supply of household commodities. Their inter-relations were further cemented by the state of helplessness on the part of people to pay in cash, on the one hand, and the interest of the shopkeeper to give them credit to ensure their continuance as his permanent customers, on the other.

The pastoral nomads, viz., Gaddis (Hindus), Bakarwals and Gujjars (Muslims), periodically moved up and down the hills of Bhadarwah, Udhampur and Basohli[89] to seek fresh pastures for their hordes. They often came in contact with the landlords, mostly Hindus, of lower parts of these districts during winter. As these nomads did not possess any land of their own, they used to spend at least six months grazing their animals in the pastures temporarily purchased from the landlords. This process provided a fair chance for interaction between the members of the two communities.

Significantly, while in the other parts of India, it were generally the Sunni Muslims who used to come in conflict with the Hindus on religious ground, in the valley of Kashmir, they were the fanatic Shias who hated the Hindus and Sunnis alike. According to one authority, "The bigotry which is the peculiarity of the Kashmiri Shia is tersely chronicled in Persian saying Sunni-i-Balkh-O-Shia-i-Kashmir".[90] Here, the agricultural requirements became one of the causes responsible for bringing the Sunni Muslim tenants nearer to the Hindu landlords. The Shias, on the other hand, were generally engaged in a profession (Shawl industry) which hardly required interaction on a larger scale. Moreover, the scarcity in the availability of Hindu unskilled workers had forced the local Kashmiri Hindus to supplement their household demand by employing Sunni Muslims as domestic servants who also readily accepted the job, being poor.

Further, the Government servants beloging to various communities worked together in the same offices.[91] They also served together as village Panchayat members and in the Municipalities.

After 1890, the State Government began to pay more attention to the spread of education among the masses. New Government educational institutions were opened on extensive scale, and secular subjects also began to be taught there. This new educational policy of the State Government superseded the old system in which the students of a particular community acquired education in Pathshalas and Madarsas attached to certain temples and mosques respectively. The old system had compartmentalised the students community on communal lines. Now, the students belonging to various communities got the opportunity to interact together and this led to some positive synthesis in their beliefs and thought.

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4

Genesis of Tension

It is interesting to note that the moment the British Government appointed its permanent Resident in the state (1885) and subsequently took over its administration indirectly after deposing Maharaja Pratap Singh (1889), tension in the relations between Hindus and Muslims began to appear. Communalism rampant and British intervention thus became a concomitant phenomenon. Although, there were other forces also responsible for such a state of affairs, yet it cannot be denied that the British factor was a forceful catalyst in generating communal tension in the State.

The reign of first two Dogra kings, i.e., Maharaja Golab Singh (1846-57) and Maharaja Ranbir Singh (1857-85), passed off peacefully. There was no communal problem between Hindus and Muslims. There is hardly any instance to quote when Hindus and Muslims, as two different communities, quarrelled on any issue. On the contrary, the Muslims belonging to the two sects, viz., Shias and Sunnis, quarrelled in 1872, but the timely intervention on the part of the Government save the situation from taking an ugly turn.[1] Maharaja Ranbir Singh provided financial help to the riot victims to the tune of Rs. 3,00,000.[2]

Economic Reasons

It was not till the last decade of the 19th century that the Muslims came in competition with the Hindus for various Government posts. Being educationally backward, they hardly fulfilled the qualifications required for the purpose. Their religious leaders had exhorted them that "so long as they truly followed the Quran and the Hadis, the Muslim community would make great progress. Adoption of western system of education and western life style would turn them apostates".[3] Hence, they had discouraged the people to send their children to the Mission schools, apprehending their conversion to Christianity.[4] Such a thinking had halted their educational advancement for at least two decades.[5] Moreover, with the exception of Kashmiri Pandits and few urban Hindus, almost the whole of the Hindu population also had suffered from the same handicap. Consequently, almost all the civil posts had come to be occupied either by the Kashmiri Pandits and other Brahmins or by the Bengali Hindus and Punjabis, both Hindus and Muslims.

But the situation began to change from 1885 when the Britishers appointed a permanent Resident to look after the administration of the State. Persian was then replaced by Urdu and English. Now, the new appointee was supposed to know English as well as Urdu. It became another negative point, particularly for the Muslims who were unwilling to take to English learning due to their fear of loosing faith in their religion. Here again, Kashmiri Pandits, who once had taken to Persian learning to acquire civil jobs right from the time of the Muslim rule, took the lead in English learning, and maintained their supremacy in the Government jobs. Many top positions were again filled up by the people from outside the State.

In 1889, Maharaja Pratap Singh was reduced to the position of a titular head and all powers were vested with the Maharaja-in-Council. The Council was, however, to exercise its powers through the British Resident. Consequently, the

British Indian Government could strengthen its control over the State administrative machinery, though indirectly.

The new establishment gave first priority to reforming the administrative set up of the State. On the pretext of introducing reforms in various departments, Europeans were appointed to various important posts. So much so that whereas in 1892[6], only a few Europeans were found in the State administration, by 1907 about seventy higher posts came to be occupied by the Europeans.[7] Leaving aside the armed forces and a few other departments, such as Revenue, Law and Order, all the other departments were headed by either Europeans or Americans.[8] By this time, the Bengalis were completely out of scene. Now it was the turn of highly placed Kashmiri Pandits and the Punjabis who had to bear the brunt of the new policy. Consequently, there was generated among a cross-section of the people in the State anti-British feelings.[9]

By this time, the Muslims also had awakened to the advantages of western education. Consequently, during the last years of the first decade of the 20th century, the All India Muslim Kashmiri Conference gave priority to making Kashmiri Muslims aware of the necessity of education.[10] Its leaders passed resolutions in various conferences held under the auspices of All India Mohammadan Anglo-Oriental Education Conference, Aligarh, impressing upon the State Government to provide special opportunities to the Muslims of the State in securing education.[11] As a consequence of their strenuous efforts, coupled with those of some other organisations, such as Anjuman-i-Nusrat-ul-Islamia of Srinagar[12], the Kashmiri Muslims began to show interest in modern education. Thus, we see that whereas in 1891 there were only 20 per cent Muslim students out of the total school going scholars in the State[13], their figure rose to 43.51 per cent in 1914-15.[14] And in 1931, the Muslims contributed 57 per cent of this lot.[15]

Naturally, the rapid spread of education among the Muslims gave birth to a new class of contenders for various posts in the State services. But by this time stagnation had

reached in the employment opportunities due to the influx of Europeans, and not many vacancies existed to accommodate the new aspirants. The newly middle class educated Muslims then also came to face another problem. In the competition to jobs, they found themselves inferior to both the Europeans and Kashmiri Pandits. Therefore, they stood little chances of success in the open competition. Finding themselves handicapped before the Europeans, whom they never wanted to antagonise at any cost, they expressed their resentment against the Hindus, especially the Kashmiri Pandits, whom they considered as their main rivals and responsible for their backwardness in every sphere of life.[16]

Furthermore, the Census of 1891 in the State made the Muslims aware of their numerical strength. Now they demanded share in Government posts corresponding to their numbers. The middle class educated Muslims felt that if the share of Muslims in Government services and professions was reserved corresponding to their numbers, every one of them would stand a very good chance of employment as well as promotion. For the same reason, the Hindus, especially the Kashmiri Pandits and other Brahmins, felt that any reservation for the Muslims would reduce their chances in this field, which were already meagre due to the European influx in the State services. Thus, the two came to consider each other as their rivals and were keen to take away jobs from the other group. There is reason to believe that the Britishers, both official and non-official, encouraged these mutual bickerings[17] to divert their anti-British feelings. But the tension between the Hindus and Muslims, resulting from the scramble for various posts, was confined to the Kashmir province only. In Jammu, a majority of the Muslim aspirants had found their way either in the State armed forces or were recruited in the British Indian Army.

Another factor which put pressure on Government services was the absence of any developed modern industry and other Government or private enterprises which could have provided additional opportunities to the newly educated class of peo-

ple.[18] This fact was further heightened as a result of the economic depression which set in the State after the First World War, owing to increase in prices and shortage of food. During the War, Jammu province supplied about 18000 recruits for the British Imperial troops. This number was in addition to the people enlisted in the State forces.[19] The major contribution of recruits was made by Mirpur tehsil, Rajouri and Poonch illaqa.[20] Men from these areas were taken for other services also in India and abroad. But when the War was over, their services were no longer required. So a large number of soldiers, sailors, contractors and policemen were forced to return to their homes.[21] The pressure on land, consequently, increased. Besides adding to economic depression, these people, having been exposed to various national and international politico-religious movements, viz., Indian freedom and rise of pan-Islamism became an instrument of further discontentment. To add fuel to the fire, in the beginning of 1931 a large number of Muslim peasants, living on the State borders with the Punjab, returned to their homes when the various projects in which they were employed there as workers were suspended. Consequently, the sources of extra income which provided a great relief to them in the payment of land revenue dues were blocked.

It was under these circumstances that the relations between the Hindu money-lenders (Sahukars) and the Muslim indebtors became strained and took the shape of communal distrust. In Jammu province, and especially in the Muslim majority districts, the peasants were largely under the debt of money-lenders belonging to the Mahajan caste of the Hindus. As a result of their business, slowly and steadily the money-lenders were acquiring land from the Muslim peasantry under the mortgage system.[22] But with the introduction of land assessment programme in the last decade of the 19th century, the latter became aware of their proprietary rights. Moreover, the general economic depression made them resistant to the ill designs of these Sahukars. The problem between these two classes of people was thus essentially economic in nature. But because all the money-lenders were the Hindus and most of their clients Muslims,

this state of affairs made a fertile ground for communal propaganda. Consequently, a little effort on the part of communalists gave this purely economic problem a new twist of clash between the interests of Hindus and Muslims. The money-lenders were engaged in exploiting the Muslim peasants not because they were Muslims, but as a result of the historical factor that it were the peasantry and other non-trading classes who were mostly converted to Islam and the Sahukars had remained Hindus. In Kashmir, on the contrary, the Khoja Muslims were engaged in the same money-lending profession as was being followed by the Hindu Sahukars in the Jammu province[23], but no disturbance took place there because both the money-lenders and the debtors belonged to the same ethnical group, with the result that the religious factor could not be exploited.

Anyhow, the root cause of Hindu-Muslim riots of Rajouri in 1914 and Mirpur in 1931 was the strained relations between the Hindu money-lenders and the Muslim peasantry. During the Rajouri trouble, the rioters forced the Hindu Sahukars to leave the lands acquired by them under the mortgage system and also made their *Bhaiees* (account books) as their target. Again, during the Mirpur riots of 1931, the Muslim rioters, besides destroying the property belonging to the Hindus, also looted the houses of those Muslims who were engaged in the money-lending business.[24]

Islamic Resurgence and Rise in Pan-Islamism

Besides the Ahmediyas, the Ulema belonging to different sects of traditional Islam also had their share in disturbing the peaceful communal atmosphere in the State. A number of maulvis belonging to Wahabi and Hanfi sects of Islam in the Punjab visited the State and tried to bring about traditional revivalism among the Muslims, especially of Jammu.[25] Though there were some basic differences between the Wahabis and Hanfis, yet both the movements mainly aimed at removing the un-Islamic influences from the Muslim society. This could not but create a wedge between the Muslims and the Hindus.

A number of religious fanatics, moved by the pre-pan-Islamic propaganda, also visited the State and indulged in anti-British and anti-Hindu Raj propaganda. In 1914, one Maulvi Abdur Rehman was turned out of Rajouri illaqa for his anti-Hindu preachings.[26] Although, he took up mostly economic issues, his expression of the long standing grievances of Muslim peasantry through the medium of theology led to Hindu-Muslim tension in the area. When the State Government tried to put a check on the Maulvi by directing him to leave the area, a Hindu-Muslim riot followed. Similarly, in 1917 the State police took from the possession of one Haji Abdul Wahid about 8554 copies of 19 books containing inflammatory material, written with the purpose of exciting the anti-Hindu and anti-British feelings among the Muslims.

Nationalism and Hindu Revivalism

In Jammu and Kashmir the rise in Hindu revivalism and Indian national awakening were contemporary and more or less the result of the efforts of the same set of people. It is significant that besides spreading their religious ideals, the Arya Samaj activists were also engaged in spreading the nationalist principles. The Shudhi and Swadeshi propaganda went hand in hand. Sant Singh, who was expelled from the State in 1907 for writing a pamphlet entitled 'The first step of India towards Independence' and other books on Nationalism, was a leading activist of the Arya Samaj. The literature, which the police took from the possession of one Vishwanath in 1909, contained books on both nationalist movement and Arya Samaj. The other and more important nationalist leaders who exercised a great influence over the State people were also connected with the Arya Samaj Movement.[27]

As a result of the activities of Arya Samaj leaders, the impact of nationalism and Hindu-revivalism became quite distinct in the polito-religious and social outlook of the people of the State. But it was confined to a little majority of Hindus. To many, and specially to the Muslims, the word 'nationalism'

was nothing but synonym of Hindu nationalism. Judging the activities of the Arya Samaj, they felt that they could serve their interests not only by staying away from the nationalist movement, but also by opposing it. This thinking brought the Kashmiri Muslim leadership closer to the British. Sensing threat from the Hindu nationalists, the latter pinned great hope in the Muslims who were all out to resist any eventuality which they expected from the Hindu Nationalists.[28]

Naturally, the fact that the Nationalist Movement and Arya Samaj activities went side by side and, moreover, were the handiwork of same class of people, left far-reaching impact on the State politics. In turn, it affected the Hindu-Muslim relations also. Firstly, in the State, nationalism carried the meaning of Hindu Nationalism only. This led to complete Muslim isolation from the national struggle. Differences in their political ideas became evident in their day to day activities also. Mutual suspicions were aroused, which became a major factor in creating dissensions in their inter-relations. Secondly, it helped in pushing the State Muslims towards the English. This fact also explains the sustained Kashmiri Muslims loyalty towards the British Empire over such a sensitive issue as the fate of Turkey in the Great War.

Role of All India Muslim Kashmiri Conference and the Ahmediyas

The All India Muslim Kashmiri Conference played a significant role in creating feelings of separatism among the Kashmiri Muslims. Its aim, which is self-evident from its very name, was to work for safeguarding the polito-economic interests of only the Muslims of the State. Perhaps, inspired by the Minto-Morley reforms, which provided communal representation to the Muslims in 1909, it demanded from the State Government also special weightage for its Muslim subjects in respect of scholarships to students, employment in services, etc. It also impressed upon the State Government to take special measures for the spread of education among the Kashmiri Muslims.[29]

Leaving aside a few castes, viz., Kashmiri Pandits and other Brahmins living in the towns, the position of other Hindu castes in the State was no better than its Muslim subjects. But by taking the cause of Kashmiri Muslims alone, the Conference gave the impression that it was only the Kashmiri Muslims who were suffering in a Hindu State. It spared no efforts in creating class consciousness among the Muslims through press and platform.

The role played by Ahmediyas in Kashmir affairs was no less important. A number of them were working on higher posts in the State services.[30] In the initial stages, however, they took little interest in the Muslim affairs. But gradually they acquired considerable influence and by 1930 they became the sole spokesmen of the Kashmiri Muslims in Punjab. Now, they no longer remained a passive force and rather took aggressive attitude during the Kashmir disturbances of 1931.

S.M. Abdullah, the young and up-coming leader of the Kashmiri Muslims, also worked on the instructions of the Ahmediya Khalifa. But the Ahmediyas were the staunch supporters of the British. There is, therefore, the possibility of the Britishers working behind the scene as instigators to flare up the anti-Hari Singh feelings among the Muslim subjects.

Role of the Press

Newspapers are a forceful instrument to mobilise the public opinion in any way they like. In case the press becomes fettered, it is often misused to achieve selfish ends. Such a subjectivity of press more often leads to undesired developments. The same thing happened with the North Indian press, and especially with the Punjab Vernacular Press, when it was still passing through a stage of infancy.

Punjab being the arena of communal politics then, the newspapers here were often engaged in publishing news arousing communal and separatist feelings. According to

M.W. Fenton, Chief Secretary to the Government of Punjab, "In Punjab religion plays a very prominent part in politics. A newspaper to secure circulation, readers and influence must either be an organ frankly hostile to Government or be the champion of the interests of the Mohammadan, Hindu or Sikh community".[31]

The Jammu and Kashmir being a Muslim majority State ruled over by a Hindu king became a matter of concern to both the Hindu and Muslim journalists. While it was the attitude of the Muslim newspapers to write against the Maharaja and Hindu religion, the Hindu papers often came to their rescue. The latter also never hesitated to write against the Muslims. As no paper was published in the state owing to ban on press, its inhabitants read newspapers coming from the Punjab.[32]

It was from as early as 1888 that some Muslim papers of Punjab, like Rafiq-i-Hind of Lahore, had been advocating the cow-slaughter which was banned in the State.[33] Similarly, the Anglo-Indian papers were busy in publishing the alleged atrocities on the Muslims here.[34]

The communal trend in the writings of Punjab Vernacular press got a boost when, in 1895, the Hindu-Sikh owned newspapers, like Akhbar-i-Am, Lahore; Singh Sahai, Amritsar; Punjab Samachar, Lahore; and Tribune, Lahore, started writing against the alleged anti-Hindu policies of the Nawab of Bahawalpur.[35] A new phase, further dividing the Hindu and Muslim newspapers on communal lines, then began.

It has already been noted that most of these newspapers were vastly circulated in the State. Hence, they played a significant role in shaping the public opinion along communal lines. Important among them included 'Aina-i-Hind' of Delhi; Punjab Gazette of Sialkot; Chaudhwin Sadi of Rawalpindi; Akhbar-i-Kaisar of Jullundur; Rehbar-i-Hind of Lahore; Paisa Akhbar of Lahore; Ahl-i-Hadis, Amritsar; Zamindar of Lahore and Wazir-ul-Mulk of Sialkot.

Some Muslim organisations, which were interested in the Kashmir affairs, also published newspapers to carry on their politico-religious doctrines. Thus, the Ahmediyas owned a number of newspapers, such as Al Fazal, Qadian; Hakam, Qadian, and Paigham-i-Saleh, Lahore.[36] Similarly, the All India Muslim Kashmiri Conference of Lahore published Kashmir Gazette; Kashmir Magazine and Kashmir.[37] All these newspapers went a long way in creating not only misunderstandings but also hatred among the Muslims and the Hindus.

Cow-Slaughter

In Jammu and Kashmir, slaughter of cows had been banned since the time of the Sikh rule, and the guilty were awarded punishment under section 219 of the Ranbir Penal code which amounted to imprisonment for ten years.[38] As already mentioned, the majority community of Muslims itself also, by and large, abstained from beef eating.

As a result, a cow-slaughter incident hardly became a cause of major communal tension. But towards the close of the 19th century, when communalist propaganda clouded its peaceful atmosphere, the situation began to change. It was then that Muslim traditional revivalism and Pan-Islamic ideals flooded the State. Certain Muslim papers of Punjab began to incite the Muslims of the State to violate the law which prohibited the cow-slaughter there.[39] Under the circumstances, the cow-killing crime increased. Thus, whereas, during the 1890-1910 period the average cow-killing cases reported were only 13 per year and the number of people involved was 49, during the 1911-1931 period, these figures reached the average of 36 cases and 125 persons respectively. Owing to this increase in cow killing cases, in 1910 there prevailed tension in various parts of the State, viz., Sopore, Kotli, Bhimber, Rajouri etc.[40]

Obviously, the Muslims of the State did not slaughter cow for food purposes. The incentive for cow-killing was purely religious. The Muslims began to make a vow to offer the sacrifice of a cow on the fulfilment of a particular objective.

They also slaughtered cows for sacrificial purposes on certain religious festivals, especially Id-i-Qurbani[41], when their relatives, friends and the village community joined in performing the rite. Apparently, sometimes the crime was committed with the connivance and knowledge of the Headman of the village. whose responsibility it was to report such a crime to the police.[42]

Minor Irritants

There were some other irritants which put a strain on the relations between the Muslims and the State Government. As head of the State was a Hindu, these relations became responsible for tension between the two communities.

There were certain mosques here which had either been under the Government control since the time of Afghan rule or were closed down due to quarrel between two rival groups of the Muslims. The Muslims now wanted their restoration to them.

Another complaint of the Muslims was that whereas the Muslim Bakarwals had been branded by the State Government as a criminal tribe, the Hindu Gaddis, who followed a similar profession, bore no such stigma.

A few incidents of Hindus' interference with the practice of *Azan* and *Khutba* gave opportunities to the Muslims to raise the cry of restrictions on their religion. Such incidents happened mostly in those areas where Hindus predominated.[43] The State Government repeatedly assured the Muslims that there was no Government order which prohibited the *Azan* or *Khutba* or any other of their religious rights. Although in general the Muslims were satisfied[44] with this, the communal elements among them still raised the cry of 'Islam in danger' in a Hindu Raj, which led to communal bitterness.

There was then the State law which deprived any apostate (Hindu or Muslim) from natural law of inheritance. It was

exploited by the communal leaders as a restriction on the religious freedom of the Muslims. Although the same law was applied to the Hindu neo converts and under the Muslim law also a Muslim who relinquished his religion was debarred from inheritance right[45], yet it became a matter of concern to the Muslim leadership because it was proving a great hindrance in their work of conversion in the Jammu province.[46]

British Contribution

Lastly, as remarked earlier, there was the British factor. The British did create the State of Jammu and Kashmir in 1846 not "as a reward for Golab Singh for his negative role in the Anglo-Sikh conflict"[47] as is insinuated by a number of writers and also hinted at by the British Governor General in his despatch of 4th March, 1846 to the Secret Committee[48], but as he was the only best available alternative "by which a Rajput dynasty (Dogras) will act as a counterpoise against the power of the Sikh prince, the son of the late Ranjit Singh and both will have a common interest in resisting attempts on the part of any Mohammadan power to establish an independent State on this side of the Indus, or even to occupy Peshawar."[49] That the British had even before a plan to establish such a powerful State in this strategic region is supported by the fact that it was as early as on 29th March, 1841, that the Governor-General-in-Council addressed a despatch to Mr. Clerk, the then Agent on this frontier, suggesting the advancement of Raja Dhyan Singh, Prime Minister, Lahore Darbar, and "recommending that this separate and independent authority in the Hills should be recognised by the British Government as through the means of that recognition we shall most easily acquire for ourselves the control over the country".[50] Obviously, the British saw in Maharaja Golab Singh a factor which could prove helpful in the fulfilment of their Imperialistic designs. For the same reason, they never allowed him to assert his complete independence.

There were some apprehensions also which dissuaded the British authorities to bring Jammu and Kashmir under their

direct control. Lt. Col. H.M. Lawrence observed on December 26, 1846, "I understand the people would be glad to have us for masters, but being all Mussilmans or Brahmins, they would soon prove restive. About 4/5 are Mohammadans and would, of course, kill cows while the minority would be hostile to the measure. A Cashmere Brahmin you know is proverbial for intrigue so that between Moolas and Pundits our Raj would not long be declared to be Heaven sent."[51] Then the British were aware of the presence of hundreds of Rajas and Jagirdars on the borders, whose aspirations they thought difficult to satisfy.[52]

But it does not mean that the propounders of this idea received universal support. They had to face a lot of criticism for the transfer of Kashmir to the Dogras. Hesketh Pearson, an English writer who belonged to the opposite camp, wrote, "The people of Kashmir, once an Afghan province, were Mohammadans and Sikhs had been wise enough to leave it in the hands of Moselem ruler. Its wholesale transfer to a Hindu Chieftain was not, therefore, a praiseworthy act on the part of a nation which was supposed to believe that human beings had rights. But the right of men are usually overlooked when the rights of the power claimed and Henry Lawrence, who later became the noblest ruler in the History of British India, must take his share of blame for the transaction."[53]

Little wonder, the hostile element in the British camp tried to find fault with Maharaja Golab Singh also. He was accused of oppressing his Muslim subjects and not allowing them religious freedom. It was alleged that thousands of Kashmiri Muslims had to resort to Hijrat to escape from this repression.[54]

The Governor-General, therefore, threatened the Maharaja of direct interference in the State affairs and curtail his authority if his alleged oppression continued.[55] Subsequently, the British were able to secure a strong foothold in the State. In 1852, Officer on Special Duty was appointed for six months during summer to have a check on the European visitors to

Kashmir.[56] In 1867, a British Political Agent was appointed at Leh with a dual purpose. Besides looking after the trade with Eastern Turkistan, he was also to gather information about the political happenings in the Chinese Turkistan.[57] In 1873, it was alleged that Maharaja Ranbir Singh, the successor of Golab Singh, was in secret correspondence with the Russians who were constantly expanding towards the Indian borders, threatening the British empire. To keep a watch over the situation, the British authorities proposed the appointment of a Resident in the State.[58] But the Maharaja opposed the move, pointing out that "the appointment of a Resident would be derogatory to my honour and position".[59] But later, in 1877, in view of the increased menace of Russian advance towards Indian borders, the British did succeed in establishing the Gilgit Agency with a view to having a close watch over the Russian activities on the northern borders.[60]

When Maharaja Ranbir Singh was on his death bed, the British authorities decided upon appointing a permanent Resident in the State after his death. They also then felt the urgent need of introduction of some reforms in its administration. This was to be done, in addition to other reasons, to placate the Muslim opinion also in their favour. While explaining the outline of the new policy to be adopted after Maharaja Ranbir Singh's death, Lord Kimberley, the Secretary of State to India, wrote in 1884, "The intervention of the British Government on behalf of the Mohammadan population has been already too long delayed".[61] Obviously, it was then that the British had decided to use the State Muslims as a tool in the advancement of their interests here. The disclosures about the subsequent deposition of Maharaja Pratap Singh, on his alleged secret correspondence with the Russians made by a Muslim paper of Punjab in June 1888, that is, much earlier than the official declaration[62] in this connection, convinces us about the possibility of some secret understanding between the British and the Muslim paper.

This was, indeed, the time which marked a major tilt in the British home policy. The rise of national movement and the

policy pursued by the Indian National Congress brought the Indian Muslims closer to the Britishers. The untiring efforts made by Sayyed Ahmed Khan for the very purpose had started bearing fruit.

A little later, the rise of extremism in the Congress and emergence of Lala Lajpat Rai, a leading Arya Samaji, as its formidable leader in Punjab, had its repercussions on the State politics also. Under the influence of Arya Samaj, some of its activists undertook a nationalist propaganda in the State. The subsequent aloofness of the Muslim elements, however, from this campaign became a major factor in cementing the Anglo-Muslim friendship. It was not without reason that it were the important Muslim leaders of Kashmir, viz., Khawaja Hassan Shah Naqashbandi, Maulvi Rasool Shah and Khawaja Aziz-ud-din Kausa, who submitted a petition in 1906, informing the Resident about the nationalist activities in Jammu.[63]

The pro-British role of the Kashmiri Muslims during the first World War and their condemnation of Turkey joining the anti-British camp also helped the Muslim leadership getting through the test of loyalty. Their almost total aloofness from the Khilafat-Non-cooperation movement further strengthened their bonds with the British. Consequently, the British seem to have kept the Muslims on their priority list and fully supported their communal demands whenever made. Defence of the Muslims became a burden of the English. They gave the impression that British interference was necessary to safeguard the Muslims from the oppression of the Hindu officials.

But it must be borne in mind that the British support to the Muslims was a part not of their anti-Hindu policy but an attempt to gather Muslim support against the nationalist activities which had its roots among the Hindus of the State. Moreover, the English also wanted to use Muslims as a check on the Dogra administration whenever necessary.

The increased importance of the Gilgit area in view of Bolshevik menace as well as the growth of Afghan power[64]

and spread of nationalism among the Hindus of the State, led the British Government to get a confidential understanding from Maharaja Pratap Singh in 1921 before he was fully restored to his powers. He agreed to "accept the advice of the Resident whenever offered in the State matters and to inform him of any important change to be made in the existing rules and regulations and laws of the State and in regard to frontier matters".[65]

History is a witness to the fact that Maharaja Pratap Singh offered no challenge to the British designs in the State. On the contrary, he always showed eagerness to make their policies successful.

But the situation changed when Maharaja Hari Singh ascended the throne in 1925. Contrary to his uncle's nature, he was too much tough and lover of freedom. On the eve of his accession, he took a strong exception to the addition of the word 'confirmation' to be used by the British Government representative on the occasion of the former's coronation address. The earlier practice was to use only the word 'recognition' while recognising the succession of a new ruler.[66] Ultimately, the British Resident gave way and followed the old practice. Soon after, again, Hari Singh promulgated a constitutional provision by which he deprived the British officials of the close control which they had been exercising as heads over a large number of departments.[67]

In the initial years of his rule, Maharaja Hari Singh also cared little for the British Resident. He did not keep good relations with Mr. Wood, the Resident in Kashmir. Moreover, "he had not been easy about the frontier question"[68] which was of utmost concern to the British.[69] This was the reason why, in February 1928, his name was not proposed for the high honour of 'C.G.'[70]

Then there was the question of one Col. Ward who, being a very old man and incapable of doing his duties, was relieved from his services by Hari Singh. He was also ordered to vacate

his official residence. It seems that he was a very influential man, for the British Government showed keen interest to get him restored to all his privileges. But the Maharaja would not yield. Even the repeated appeals from a strong headed Secretary of State, Birkenhead, and again from his successor to review the case on compassionate grounds yielded no results.[71]

Not only this, in March 1928 Hari Singh ordered the removal of the Residency flag staff at Srinagar.[72] This he did to bring the Kashmir Residency in line with the Residencies in other princely states where it was customary to hoist the flag on the top of the building rather than on the ground.

By his above mentioned acts, Maharaja Hari Singh, knowingly or otherwise, created an impression that he was 'anti-British'[73] and, therefore, invited their displeasure for ever. This view is strengthened by a private letter which Birkenhead addressed to the Viceroy of India. While giving his opinion about the personality of Maharaja Hari Singh, he wrote "he seems to present a puzzle blend of good and bad qualities. From your account of him I should say that there is an element of the bully in him, he behaves correctly well when he is under your eye or among his fellow princes when assembled in their chambers but when he has only the Resident to deal with he tends to assert himself in a domineering way or worse".[74]

Maharaja Hari Singh further created troubles for himself when in November, 1930, he declared in the First Round Table Conference that "As Indians and loyal to the land whence we derive our birth and infant nature, we stand as solidly as the rest of our countrymen for our land's enjoyment of a position of honour and equality in the British Commonwealth of Nations".[75] One is convinced that Maharaja Hari Singh's ideas were not less patriotic than those of any other nationalist leader of the time. How could he, therefore, go unpunished.

It has already been extensively discussed that during this period the Muslim discontentment in the State had much increased. They were likely to launch an anti-Maharaja

agitation on their own account. But Mr. Wakefield, the Political Minister, also seems to have egged them on for it.[76] According to one source, it was for this mischief that he was sacked by the Maharaja.[77] Moreover, the Ahmediyas, who were the main spirit behind the 1931 agitation and whose Head worked as S.M. Abdullah's God father, were staunch British loyalists. Loyalty to the British Empire was, indeed, one of their main principles. Obviously, they won't have dared to spearhead the agitation in Kashmir without Britishers' blessings. The views expressed by M.B. Mehmood Ahmed, Head of the Ahmediya community, in his memorandum of 18th January 1921 to the Viceroy of India amply support this line of argument. He wrote, "The Government cannot be unaware of the services which the Ahmediya community rendered to the Covernment during disturbances over the Rowlatt Act. On some occasions the members of the community helped the Government and the Europeans when the latter were involved in danger. At places, they were beaten and maltreated for keeping their shops open and sometimes shops were looted. Further they made efforts by distributing literature and sending out preachers to all parts of Punjab and at preparing the people to combat the agitation. Our services were acknowledged by the Punjab Government and your Excellency was pleased to express your approval of them. We indeed think it a disgrace to ask for reward for such services. It was a religious and moral duty which we were found to perform".[78]

There seems to have been some secret understanding between the British and the Muslim leadership, and the British were using them in their own interests. The coincidence of Maharaja's Round Table Conference speech and the emergence of 1931 Muslim agitation further strengthens this viewpoint.

Furthermore, a number of Britishers themselves were actively involved in the 1931 agitation. One British lady, Margaret Nethersole, was expelled from the State for supporting S.M. Abdullah and inciting the Muslim rioters in the Kashmir disturbances of 1931.[79] The other Britishers who were

involved in this agitation were Mrs Devis and her son, E. Devis and Mr. and Mrs. Erie Biscoe.[80] But there is nothing to suggest that these people acted according to a worked out plan. According to one authority "Communalists were seldom given open and all out support by the Colonial State (Britishers). They were encouraged through the ready acceptance of their demands, welcoming their initiatives, non-frowning upon their agitation, non-action against their ideological misdemeanours, extension of official patronage and so on."[81]

The attitude adopted by the British Government during the course of the 1931 agitation emerged to be yet another factor which encouraged Muslim communalism in the State. Instead of checking the activities of the Ahmediyas and the Ahrars[82] in the State, who were working from their headquarters in Punjab, the British brought increased pressure on the Maharaja to appoint an English officer to enquire into the alleged grievances[83] of the Muslims. Through this measure, the Britishers wanted to sit in judgement over a case between a Hindu Maharaja, on the one hand, and his Muslim subjects, on the other, and thereby, it seems, they hoped to strengthen their position further in the State and, more especially, in Gilgit vis-a-vis the Maharaja.

To put additional pressure on the Maharaja, the British Government alleged that he was paying money to Hindu newspapers and also Nau Jawan Bharat Sabha for the conduct of pro-Maharaja propaganda in India during the 1931 agitation. They termed it as a "dangerous method of move... likely to defeat all that Government of India is doing to help the Darbar".[84] But this issue was suddenly closed down[85] when on 12th November, 1931, the Maharaja ordered the appointment of Glancy Commission to enquire into the circumstances of the 1931 disturbances and to suggest remedial measures.[86]

During the agitation, the Maharaja made repeated requests to the Viceroy of India to help him by giving the impression that, "My Government has full confidence of the Government

of India"[87], and to check the entry of Ahrars to the State. But the British Government refused to take any action against the Ahrars unless "they break peace in British India". It is clear that the British Government was not prepared even to owe the responsibility of those trouble mongers who were their own subjects and were operating from their territory to disturb peace and tranquility in the State. They gave the excuse that the British law did not allow any action against them.[88]

Moreover, the British were aware of the fact that the Ahmediyas were financing and guiding the Muslim agitation under S.M. Abdullah. A simple hint from the former would have been sufficient to dissuade the latter from their activities. But, it seems, the British were not ready to willingly support the State Government's cause until and unless it danced to their tune. Besides, by suppressing the Muslim agitation, they never wanted to give an impression that the British were working against the wishes of the Muslims.

It is to be noted that the British Government had by this time evolved an extensive system of police and intelligence, press censorship and other laws to control the press. But all these laws were used only against the nationalist movement. Even the slightest effort on its part to produce disaffection and sedition was taken note of.[89] The British Government often sought the help of the State Government also to suppress this type of propaganda within the State territories. But the same British administrative net work suffered from relative inactivity when the question of helping the State administration appeared in 1931. In fact, it seems the British authorities, in their own interest, wished the agitation to be prolonged. It was only for face-saving that the principle of civil liberty and rule of law were invoked by them. Their interests in Gilgit especially and Hari Singh's resistance to their designs seem to have largely decided the issue of any help to him.

Finally, "The policy of dividing Indians on communal lines and giving support to the communalists became from the end of 19th century onward, an important instrument of colonial

policy to thwart the rising national movement".[89] But Muslim communalism as a part of their policy of 'divide and control' in Jammu and Kashmir could succeed only because some aspects of its internal social, economic, cultural and political conditions, which we have discussed in detail in the earlier pages, were favourable to it.

The British, however, used Muslim communalism only as a tool as long and as far as it served their purpose. Thus, despite the repeated requests from the Ahrars, they did not help them openly. At a later stage, the Ahrars did realise this fact and found that the Kashmir agitation had "added to the English influence and power in the State".[90] Then they tried to bargain with them. But the British were too clever to play in their hands

There were other reasons also for the British unwillingness to openly support the activities of the Muslim communalists. Their policy in the State was not to destabilise the ruling authority. They only wanted to keep the Maharaja under their control so that he might give them a free hand in Gilgit, as said before, and also work according to their plans. It was only to achieve this objective that the British used Muslim communalism and they were successful in their goal.

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76. *Ibid.*

77. Teng, Kaul, Bhat Kaul, *op. cit.*, p. 81; Also H.L., Saxena writes : "Master S.M. Abdulla had played a very prominent part in all their communal agitations in the State. Mr. Wakefield, who, as Political Minister, had the entire police and security services under him, had been keeping a close watch on the activities of the Muslims Reading Room, and he seemed to pick up S.M. Abdulla as the man who suited his needs most to teach the Hindu Maharaja a lesson, particularly because Abdulla was a very impressive speaker and had the great capacity to arouse religious frenzy, and passion among Muslims by reciting passages from the Holy Quran in a most sonorous voice, which enthralled his co-religious to their very depths. The British had thus found a stooge after their own heart, as by using him as their tool against the Maharaja, they could hope to carry through their plans for teaching Maharaja Hari Singh a lesson and getting full control over the strategic area of Gilgit from the Dogra ruler who had dared to challenge their authority there".

78. *Head of the Ahmediya Community to Viceroy*, Dt. n.g. Home-Pol., F. No. 255, 1921.

79. On March 4, 1939, Lady Nethersolo tendered unconditional apology for her activities in the 1931 communal disturbances and was allowed to return to the State. (See *Resident in Kashmir, Order*, 8th March, 1939, Pol., IB Branch, F. No. 93-1, S. No. 1-2, Crown Representative Papers, Microfilm, Acc. No. 288).

80. *Resident in Kashmir to Pol. Secretary to Govt. of India*, 19th July, 1933, Foreign-Pol., F. No. 187, Intl. Progs. No. 1-16, 1933, Crown Representative Papers, Microfilm, Acc. No. 286.

81. Bipan Chander, *Communalism in Modern India*, Delhi, 1984, p. 16.

82. The *Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam-i-Hind*, or the Organisation of Islamic Freedom Fighters in India, emerged as a separate group of Muslims, in the Congress. They parted ways when the Nehru Report asked for 'Joint electorate' rather than 'separate electorate'. After their withdrawal from the Congress the Ahrars directed their movement towards Jammu and Kashmir which had by now become a hot bed of Muslim communal politics after the July 1931 incident. See Lavan, Spencer, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-83.

83. *Govt. of India to Secretary of State for India*, 8th Oct., 1931, Foreign-Pol., F. No. 423-P (Secret), Part-I, 1931.

84. *Tusaduk Hussain to Deputy Director* IB, 11th Nov., 1931, Foreign-Pol., F. No. 611-P (Secret), 1931.

85. *H.A.F. Metcalfe to Resident in Kashmir*, 24th Nov., 1931, Foreign-Pol., F. No. 611-P (Secret), 1931.

86. Glancy, B.J., *op. cit.*, title page.

87. *Maharaja to Viceroy*, 6th August, 1931, Foreign-Pol., F. No. 423-P (Sec), Part-I, 1931.

88. *Govt. of India to Resident in Kashmir*, 8th October, 1931, *Ibid.*

89. Bipan Chander, *op. cit.*, p. 280.

90. *Ibid.*

91. *Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam Hind, Programme*, Home-Pol., F. No. 14/14, 1932, NAI.

5

Phase of Discard

COMMUNALISM RAMPANT

According to a scholar, "Communalism in India meant that philosophy which stood for the promotion of the interests of a particular religious community or the members of a particular caste."[1] It is believed that because the people of a particular ethnical group follow a particular religious philosophy, their social, political and economic interests are also identical, Communalists attach little importance to the identical sociological and cultural background, customs and practices of the masses. If ever they feel that there are socio-cultural identities, they accept these in theory only, and in practice subordinate these to the religious identities.[2] No wonder, there is an inherent notion that the social, economical, cultural and political interests of Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Christians are not only divergent but also clash at various points. Consequently, the belief that it is in the common interest of all the members of a community to remain united and together for the furtherance of their so called common interests, and that they should be vigilant about the ill designs of other communities who always stand in rivalry to them [3]

Historically, communalism in India is a product of the second half of the 19th century [4] The process of western modernisation,

which started during this period, brought in its wake this unique way of thinking which is still taxing the minds of the present day right thinking people. If, on the one hand, the introduction of western cultural influence, spread of English education, economic, political and administrative unification of the country, development of means of transport and communication, press and platform, and growth in the representative institution in the political system of the country helped in the national awakening, these factors, on the other hand, also became responsible in giving birth to the tendency among a section in every community to look at various problems from the narrow angle of communalism.

In the State of Jammu and Kashmir, communalism rampant was the culmination of the process which had already taken its roots in the neighbouring Punjab.[5] It was in the last quarter of the 19th century that Punjab had become a hot bed of communal politics. A number of religious movements took birth on its soil[6], e.g., Arya Samaj, Brahmo Samaj, Theosophical Society, Singh Sabha Movement, Ahmediya Movement and Ahl-i-Hadith movement.[7] Either influenced by the traditional revivalism among the Muslims and Pan-Islamic philosophy of the early 20th century or related to Hindu-Sikh revivalism, these movements extended their activities to the State territories also.

It was a general trend among their leaders to condemn the philosophy and working of other religions in the strongest possible terms. The condemnations and counter condemnations generated an atmosphere in which a little spark was sufficient to break out a big fire. The British also fished in troubled waters and made full use of the opportunities provided by the Indians themselves to divide them further. They made no serious attempt to keep in check the warring communities and practically gave them freedom to mount virulent propaganda against each other.[8]

A. Communalism becomes Evident

The earliest evidence of the efforts of the communalists to spread their doctrines to the State torritories is found in the

writings of the Vernacular press of Punjab. It was on 19th January, 1882, that the Vernacular Press Act of 1878, which was passed by the British Indian Government to check the growing influence of Indian press, was repealed and, with this, a new chapter began in the history of the native press.[9] The communal elements now got a free hand in unleashing a campaign of vilification and hatred through their papers.

In 1888, Moharram Ali Chisti, Editor of Rafiqi-i-Hind, an Urdu paper of Lahore, wrote a letter to the Civil and Military Gazette, an English paper of Lahore, advocating the cause of annexation of Kashmir by the British.[10] He also appealed to the British Government to permit cow-slaughter, which was banned in the State, and dismiss Hindus from Government services.[11] This suggestion on the part of a fanatic was, however, strongly condemned by both Hindu and Muslim newspapers. They termed Moharram Ali Chisti as 'Dushman-i-Hind' and alleged that Rafiq-i-Hind and the Akhbar-i-Am had all along been in the habit of creating ill-feeling between Hindus and Muslims by their intemperate writings.[12]

While referring to the role of Anglo-Indian Press, Akhbar-i-Am, dated 29th October, 1885, wrote "that an English daily paper of Calcutta has declared in a communicated article that Mussalmans in Kashmir were not allowed to celebrate the Id owing to the death of the late Maharaja (Ranbir Singh), that they were highly dissatisfied in consequence, and they are sure to migrate to British territory some day if they continue to be ill-treated in this way".[13] While refuting these charges, Akhbar-i-Am further said, "the statement of the Calcutta daily is but an issue of falsehood and unjust attempt to temper with the loyalty of Mussalmans in the State. The Darbar did not forbid them to celebrate festival, but they forbore the celebrations of their own accord. They said that it was a custom among them to suspend the Id on the occasion of the death of an elder member of a family and that, consequently, they would not celebrate the festival this year as a sign of mourning for the death of the late Maharaja".[14]

Anyhow, it shows the trend which had been set by the fanatic elements to create a wedge between the Hindus and Muslims. They provocated the Hindus by advocating the cow-slaughter and also attempted to mobilise the Muslim opinion against the Hindu ruler by spreading false news of the restriction on the celebration of Id.

Such a propaganda led to a reaction also among the Hindu communal elements. The native press of Punjab, like Ravi Akhbar and Akhbar-i-Am, countered the move by appealing to the British Government to allow slaughter of pigs openly.[15] As regards the dismissal of the Hindus from public services as advocated by Rafiq-i-Hind, the Ravi Akhbar wanted that no Muslim should be allowed to reside in India and that they should be sent back to Arabia.[16]

From 1885 to 1895, the main topics of the factional writings of the Vernacular Press of Punjab revolved particularly round the two princely States of Jammu and Kashmir and Bhawalpur which were being ruled over by the Hindu and Muslim ruling families respectively. Whereas the communal elements among the Muslim Editors of Punjab and also Anglo-Indian Press were constantly writing against the Jammu and Kashmir Government, some of the Hindu papers had made it a common cause to voice the alleged atrocities committed by the Nawab of Bhawalpur on his Hindu subjects.[17] The Muslim papers termed this propaganda as a move to topple the only Muslim State of Punjab.[18]

There were, however, some saner elements among both sets of Editors who held the idea of Hindu-Muslim unity. But unfortunately, they were loosing ground day by day, giving way to the communal elements amongst them. And in a very short period, the Punjab press came to be divided distinctly on communal lines and did not represent the true index of public opinion. The Chief Secretary to the Government of Punjab, observed thus : "In the Punjab religion plays a very prominent part in politics ... A newspaper to secure circulation, readers and influence must either be an organ frankly hostile

to Government or be the champion of the interests of the Mohammadan, Hindu or Sikh community."[19]

Besides voicing the alleged deplorable conditions of the Muslims in the State, the Muslim papers of Punjab began to instigate the Kashmiri Muslims to kill cows, which was a crime within the territories of Jammu and Kashmir. They advocated the grant of more representation to the Muslims in the State services. They also suggested them to migrate to Punjab as a part of 'Hijarat'[20], if the State Government failed to redress their grievances.

Such a vigorous communal propaganda by Muslim press as well as the Anglo-Indian papers and its counteraction in the Hindu-owned papers led to two types of repercussions. Firstly, an impression was created among the Muslims of Punjab and also of the rest of India that their co-religionists were being persecuted by the Hindu Government of the State. The Punjabi Muslims, especially the Kashmiri settlers among them, were greatly influenced by this well planned propaganda. They, therefore, thought it their moral duty to agitate for safeguarding the interests of their community in the State. Consequently, we see that a number of Muslim organisations emerged in Punjab, with the sole aim of voicing the alleged discrimination with the Kashmiri Muslims of the State. Secondly, such a propaganda proved handy in creating a class consciousness among the Kashmiri Muslims They became aware about their backwardness. And, during the coming two decades, a sort of sectarian movement emerged in the State. The Muslim elites strived to create self-awareness among its Muslim masses about their backwardness. Their efforts gave birth to the idea that the problems of Kashmiri Muslims were different from those of the other communities. But one thing is to be remembered. Still, the inter-relations of various communities in the States had not become strained. Communal propaganda did leave an impression on the minds of the upper sections, but the masses were still unmoved.

B. Kashmiri Muslim Consciousness

It has already been mentioned that a good majority of Kashmiri Muslims had permanently settled in the various parts of Punjab. Emergence of political consciousness among the Indians in the last quarter of the 19th century impressed them with the need to organise themselves in a body.[21] This they did in 1896 under the banner of Anjuman-i-Kashmiri-Mussulman-i-Lahore.[22] Its aim was to watch the interests of the Kashmiri Muslim community living in Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir State. The problems first taken up by it were : (a) to persuade the British Government to lift restrictions on the recruitment of Kashmiri Muslims in the Imperial Indian forces, who had not been included in the list of martial races of India[23], (b) to declare Kashmiris as an agriculturist tribe protected by the Punjab Land Alienation Act[24], and (c) the spread of education among the Muslims of Kashmir.[25]

Soon these demands developed into a sort of agitation which came to have great hold in certain areas of the State. It was as early as in February 1907 that Foreign Minister of the Maharaja stated in a Note, "I have good reason to believe that of late a Mohammadan element which is not the native of the soil, has sprang up in Srinagar, which has taken up the false cry of 'Mohammadan interests in danger' in the State and which is sowing the seeds of discontentment in the minds of Kashmiri born Mohammadans who have no particular grievance of their own. It is this element in regard to which it is necessary that its true position be understood so that it may not set itself up as the mouth piece of the Mohammadans of Kashmir."[26]

The Anjuman received full support from many other Muslim organisations in the country. Notable among them were Anjuman-i-Islamia, Lahore, Nusurat Islamia Anjuman, Kashmir, and All India Mohammadan Anglo-Oriental Education Conference, Aligarh. A number of prominent Jagirdars, pleaders, politicians and ex-servicemen[27] also came to sympathise with its cause. A little later, however, the Anjuman

was named as Muslim Kashmiri Conference, Lahore, and held its annual session at Amritsar on 25th April, 1912. K.B. Khawaja Yusuf Shah, MLC, Punjab, was the President of this Session. Congratulating the Maharaja for the introduction of free education in the State, the Conference requested him to employ in his services Muslims from Punjab, "if competent Muslims of the State were not available".[28] The Conference raised this demand because it felt that Muslims were not adequately represented in the State services. But the Maharaja turned this demand down, and said, "I do not wish to draw a line of demarcation between my Hindu and Muslim subjects. What I wish to lay on is fitness for services . . Muslims or Hindus not belonging to the State, have no claim on State, in preference to State subjects."[29]

Besides the Muslim Kashmiri Conference of Lahore, the All India Mohammadan Education Conference of Aligarh also took active part in impressing upon the State Government to take special interest in spreading education among the Muslims of the State.[30] It became customary on its part to move resolutions, highlighting the backwardness of the Kashmiri Muslims. Such conferences were held in 1909, 1910 and 1911 at Rangoon, Nagpur and Aligarh respectively.[31]

In 1913, the All India Mohammadan Education Conference proposed to convene its session in Srinagar. But the State Government refused permission with the plea that "If the All India Mohammadan Education Conference is allowed to meet in Kashmir, it would be hard for the Darbar to refuse permission to other Sabhas and Associations . Srinagar becoming the arena for the controversies and sectarian strife."[32] It is apparent that the Maharaja's Government never wanted that sectarian as well as communal elements should get the opportunity to spread their doctrines and disturb peace and tranquility in the State.

Although the State Government refused permission for the holding of a conference[33] within its territories, yet it accepted to receive a deputation of the Muslims, especially from the

Punjab. This deputation waited upon the Maharaja at the end of 1913. The organisations which were associated with it included Anjuman Islamia Jullundur ; Anjuman Hamayat Islam, Lahore; Anjuman-i-Islamia, Amritsar and All India Mohammadan Education Conference, Aligarh.[34] The Maharaja gave them a patient hearing.

The 6th anniversary of the Muslim Kashmiri Conference was held at Gujrat (Punjab) on 26th April, 1915. In a resolution, the Conference requested the State Government the "relinquishment of the *Masjid* Nur Jahan Begam and Hamam Dara Shakoh at Srinagar and Badshahi Mosque at Manawar, Jammu."[35] On the occasion of its 7th anniversary, which was celebrated on 28th and 29th October, 1916, the Muslim Kashmiri Conference, which had by now changed its name to All India Muslim Kashmiri Conference, raised a new issue. It said that as 95 per cent of the revenues of the State were paid by the Muslim population and as they also paid education cess, the Education Minister in the State should be a Muslim.[36] The Conference also made some other demands, such as the opening of a training school to train 'Pirzadagans', special attention to the education and employment of Jagirdars, grant of scholarships to Muslim students in the technical college of Srinagar, and employment of the non-State subject Muslims in the State services.[37]

Besides the routine work to convene conferences, pass resolutions, to send deputations to wait upon State authorities, the members of the All India Muslim Kashmiri Conference began simultaneously to publish a number of newspapers which strived to create communal awareness among the Muslims of the State. These papers included 'Kashmir Gazette',[38] Lahore, and 'Kashmir Magazine', Lahore. In 1926, another weekly entitled 'Kashmir' was published from Lahore.

Hundreds of copies of these newspapers were circulated in the State, which became handy to make Kashmiri Muslims think of their separate identity.

Against this scene, the Non-Cooperation phase (1920-22) in India presented a unique phenomenon of Hindu-Muslim

cooperation. The sectarian elements were then at their lowest ebb. The Muslim leadership, which till now was toeing the lines of British Government, felt perturbed when Turkey joined the anti-British camp during the First World War. The fate of the Turkish Khalifa, the spiritual head of the Muslim world hung in the balance. Consequently, they launched an agitation hitherto known as the Khilafat Movement to press upon the British Government to ensure the safety of Turkey and its Khalifa. Sensing the positive mood of the Muslim leadership, Mahatama Gandhi invited the Khilafats to join his Non-Cooperation Movement. Though they were agitating for a religious cause, yet the Congress-Khilafat alliance against a common enemy (British) relieved them of such an allegation, no doubt, for the time being.

This phenomenon had a positive repercussions on the people of the Jammu and Kashmir also. The newly educated among them, both Hindu and Muslim, availed of this occasion to bring both the communities on a common platform. Consequently, the organisations following divergent philosophies, viz., Arya Samaj, Rama Krishna Ashram, S.D. Sabha, Khilafat Committee and the Ahmediyas, joined hands.[39] But instead of adopting the Non-Cooperation programme in letter and spirit, their leaders took up the local issues. Thus, they launched a movement known as the 'Meat Strike Agitation' to bring down the prices of meat in Kashmir. They also emphasised the need for Hindu-Muslim unity and advocated cow-protection.[40] Anti-smoking and Anti-Foreign Cloth Societies were also formed in which people of all the communities could seek membership. The Muslim leaders attended S.D. Sabha meetings and the Hindus observed fast on the *Juma* days (Fridays).[41]

Similarly, the newly emerging Sikh leadership of the State fought their traditional elites through the Gurdwara Movement which originated in the Punjab against the misdoings of the hereditary Mahants of Historical Gurdwaras.[42] No doubt, this was purely a religious movement, yet speeches were made

in favour of unity among the various religious communities in the State.[43]

Under the circumstances, the All India Muslim Kashmiri Conference had not much chance of success in its objectives.

But the aftermath of the Non-Cooperation brought in its wake the ill-fated phase of communal disturbances in the whole of India.[44] In Jammu and Kashmir too, the Hindus and Muslims fell on petty issues. Consequently, the All India Muslim Kashmiri Conference found time to reassert itself and resumed its activities. When the Srinagar Silk Factor disturbances broke out, it started a Kashmir Relief Committee to assist the Kashmir agitators.[45] It also fanned the wild rumours about the alleged killings of Kashmiri Muslims by the State forces.[46]

In the first quarter of 20th century, the Ahmediya Muslims of Qadian also became thickly involved in the politics of Punjab.[47] They began to take active interest in the State affairs also. An impression had gone round the orthodox section of Muslims that Ahmediyas, whom they did not consider as Muslims, were not serving the interests of the Muslims. Now, by joining the anti-State Government agitation, they, perhaps, hoped to dispell this impression.

In 1922, the Ahmediya leadership had made it publicly known that "the Ahmediya community is a purely religious community perfectly loyal and allowing no kind of political agitation against the ruling Government."[48] But in the very next year, they made a volt face. In August, 1923, the Head of the Ahmediya community raised with the State Government the question of law which prohibited the State subjects to embrace another religion.[49]

The Ahmediya interference in the affairs of the State was, however, then lukeworm. The All India Muslim Kashmiri Conference also kept low, so that little of consequence happened till the death of Maharaja Pratap Singh in 1925.

The first few years of Maharaja Hari Singh also were free from communal agitation. But the 13th July, 1931, incident, in which a number of Kashmiri Muslim agitators were killed in police firing, provided a chance to the Ahmediyas to reorganise their old organisation. Their Head, Mirza-Bashir-ud-din Mehmood Ahmed, took the initiative and summoned a meeting of the leading Muslims at Simla on 25th July, 1931.[50] An All India Kashmir Committee was then organised with the Ahmediya Head and Maulvi Abdur Rahim Dard, another prominent Ahmediya, as its President and Secretary respectively.[51] Besides them, Dr. Sheikh Mohammad Iqbal, an old activist of the All India Muslim Kashmiri Conference,[52] and Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan were also associated with it. The foundation of this sectarian organisation represented a new phase in pushing the Kashmiri Muslims towards a separate identity.

The All India Kashmir Committee emerged to be a semi-political organisation which worked on communal lines. Its sole aim was to present a common platform to all sections of Muslims and to coordinate the anti-Kashmir Government agitation in the rest of India. It was to campaign abroad also for the redress of alleged grievances of the Muslims of Kashmir.[53] Thus, the Muslim leadership, which identified with the Kashmir issue, fell into the hands of non-Kashmiri Ahmediyas, and they maintained their supremacy till 1934.[54]

Inside the State, the Kashmiri Muslim consciousness entered a new phase when a well organised anti-Maharaja movement was started by Kashmiri Muslims under the leadership of S M. Abdullah. Somehow, he became a staunch follower of the Ahmediya Khalifa who guided the 1931 Kashmir agitation from the platform of All India Kashmir Committee. It may, therefore, be said that S.M. Abdullah and his colleagues were mere instruments to implement the programme as envisaged by the Ahmediya Khalifa. As President of All India Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference, which was founded in 1932, he wrote to the Ahmediya Head, "I have received with many thanks the letter of Dhar-ul-Aman office No. 46 P.O. and Sayed Zam-ul Abdin Wali Ullah Shah Sahib from Haripur

Hazara, with all the directions and other instructions. I have noted the contents and did accordingly whatever I was directed."[55]

With the founding of the Muslim Conference, was laid another milestone towards Kashmiri Muslim class consciousness. The first annual session of this organisation was held at Srinagar on 15th, 16th and 17th October, 1932.[56] Its undeclared aim was to toe the lines drawn by their philosopher guides in the All India Kashmir Committee.[57] The far-reaching consequences, which this polito-communal organisation produced, was the beginning of mosque-centered politics in Kashmir, and S.M. Abdullah became its main propounder. Again, by making the Muslim community as their sole field of activity, this organisation created a wedge between the Hindus and the Kashmir Government, on the one hand, and Kashmiri Muslims, on the other. Moreover, its slogan that Dogras were aliens and the feeling that they were worst than British, whom the Kashmiri Muslims did not hate much, further strengthened the feeling of class consciousness in the minds of Kashmiri Muslims.

Thus, it may be said that the net result of the activities of the All India Muslim Kashmiri Conference especially and such other organisations was the rise in class consciousness among the Muslims of the State. A vast majority of the Muslims of Kashmir were now convinced that their interests widely differed from those of non-Muslims. They felt that they could secure more rights if they worked according to the wishes of their community leaders. Though the condition of non-Muslims was not better than theirs, yet they never made it a common cause with them and sought their cooperation. Not only this, the Kashmiri Muslims identified the Hindus with the ruling class which came to be counter productive and resulted into strained relations between them.

C. Foundation of Muslim Religious Organisations

In addition to the above mentioned organisations, a number of other religious organisations of the Muslims also came into

existence in the State, which accentuated the process of communalism.

The early 20th century developments in international sphere had its repercussions on the Indian people. With the general decline in the Muslim power in the Middle East, a wave of Pan-Islamism swept the Muslims of Indian sub-continent.[58] The fear of 'Islam in danger' led some of the religious zealots to infuse fanatic ideas in the minds of Muslim masses. Moreover, the spread of Western education and thought, and increase in the race for seeking employment in Government services made the Muslims of the State aware about their general backwardness in all fields. To remedy this situation, they founded a number of communal organisations to champion the cause of their community. As a reaction, the Hindus also did likewise. Although in their aim these organisations never stood against any class or community, yet their communal character definitely helped in widening the gap between them by restricting their members to the limits of their religious boundaries.

Among the Muslim communal organisations, Anjuman-i-Islamia of Jammu was the first which was founded in 1893.[59] The moving spirit behind it was Major-General Samander Khan.[60] Besides working for the furtherance of the cause of Islam,[61] this Anjuman was to protect the rights of the Muslim community, strive for its educational advancement and eradication of social evils from it. Later, the Anjuman extended its activities to Ramnagar, Basohli and Kishtwar also.[62]

But in 1920, the Anjuman was divided into two factions when its young activists parted ways and founded another organisation known as 'Young Men's Muslim Association'.[63] The latter were in favour of pursuing agitational programme.[64] But the liberal elements were opposed to their methods and made way for the youngers to leave the old organisation. The new organisation opened a library to educate the young members. Actually, it became a platform for the Muslim communal leaders like Chaudhri Ghulam Abbas, Gouhar

Abdur Rehman and others who played an important role in flaring up the communal feelings of Muslims during the 1931 movement.

In 1904, the Muslims of Jammu founded yet another organisation known as Ahl Sunnat wal Jamait. It was a benevolent society and opened to help and educate Muslim orphans.[65]

In 1906, Mirwaiz Moulvi Rasool Shah founded Anjuman-i-Nusrat-ul-Islamia in Srinagar.[66] The main objective of this Anjuman was to work for the advancement of education among the Muslims of Kashmir.[67] For this purpose, it opened a number of Islamia schools in different parts of the valley.[68] As the curriculum there was more or less confined to religious education, these educational institutions also became breeding centres of communalism. Little wonder, it was the ex-students of the schools run by this Anjuman, who organised themselves in a body called 'Old Boys Association' during 1930, and it was through this association that the communal leaders like Ghulam Rasul and Ghulam Ahmed Ashi could establish themselves firmly in the 1931 movement.[69]

Again, during the time of first world war, when the question of the fate of Turkey was raised, Anjuman-i-Nusrat-ul-Islamia played most decisive role in easing the anti-British tension among the Muslims of Kashmir. It convened a number of meetings in which resolutions expressing complete loyalty to the British were passed. It also requested the Mirwaiz Ahmed Ullah of Jama Masjid to offer prayers for the victory of the British.[70]

In 1923, the Anjuman took up to represent Kashmiri Muslims' interests before the State Government, and made a large number of representations, stressing the need for their upliftment.[71]

It is relevant to mention here that Kashmiri Muslims' traditional leader like Mirwaiz Ahmed Ullah of Jama Masjid and his brother Atiq Ullah were the moving spirits behind this

movement. They were vehemently opposed to the outside interference in the State affairs. During the 1931 agitation, they openly expressed their resentment against the anti-Government attitude of S M. Abdullah whom they accused of playing into the hands of the Ahmediyas.

In 1910, the Punjabi Muslims working in Kashmir came forward to help the local Muslims who were poor. They founded Anjuman-i-Hamdard Islam for the purpose.[72] It opened an orphanage for the Muslim boys, where education and vocational training was provided. The Anjuman had links with the All India Muslim Kashmiri Conference through which it received financial help.[73]

Soon this organisation widened the field of its activities. It played an important role in creating class consciousness among the Kashmiri Muslims. Through its programmes, it tried "to bring about a change in the thinking and outlook of the Muslims of Kashmir so that they would live with unity and cooperation with one another.... The supremacy of Islam was emphasized so that the Muslims come to understand the advantage of living in cooperation, peace and harmony".[74]

The activists of the Anjuman took active part in the Srinagar Silk Factory agitation in 1924 and tried to give it a communal tinge.[75]

In 1918, another Muslim organisation known as Anjuman Taraqqi-i-Talim-wa-Ithad-i-Mussalman-i-Kashmir took its birth at Srinagar.[76] But as it happened in the case of Anjuman-i-Islamia Jammu, the young activists of this organisation also were not satisfied with the methods and achievements of its traditional leaders.[77] In order to satisfy their ambitions, they came together under the leadership of Mirwaiz Assad Ullah and decided to work aggressively for the spread of education among the Muslim masses. They provided scholarships to the Muslim students and also organised programmes to honour successful Muslim candidates.[78]

In 1923, Anjuman-i-Tahaffuz-i-Namaz-wa-Satri-Masturat was founded in Kashmir[79] by Azad Quaraishi, Hakim Mohamad

Quraishi and Ghulam Mohamad. It was a purely a religious body and aimed at acquainting the Muslims in general, and those living in villages in particular, with the tenants of Islam.[80] During the course of their tours in the valley, the leaders advised the people to wear veils and payjamas. They also tried to eradicate immorality and other evils prevalent among the Kashmiri women. They also preached against taking frequent divorces and also wanted the Government to enact a law in this direction. As their activities threatened the supremacy of the Mullahs and Muftis in the Muslim society, the latter, naturally, raised their voice against the Anjuman and its leaders.[81]

There were the signs of traditional revivalism also in the State. Already, the Muslims belonging to the Wahabi sect or Ahl-i-Hadis had a considerable influence in the Shopiyan tehsil of Kashmir valley[82] and Shyok valley of Ladakh district.[83] They were scattered all over the Jammu province too. They represented an advanced school of Muslim thought and always followed Hadis (Muslim Traditions) in their day today life.[84]

In June 1901 one Maulvi Hakim Mohamad Ali of Wahabi sect came to Jammu from Lahore. He delivered a series of religious lectures on the principles of the Wahabi sect.[85] He condemned the practices followed by the Muslims of the Hanfi[86] sect and also accused Hinduism. He disowned the doctrine of Hayat-i-nabi[87] and expressed that there could be no communion between the living and the dead. He accused the Muslims of Hanfi sect "for preaching in favour of prayers and giving offerings to the dead".[88]

In order to counter the preaching of the Wahabi Mullah, the followers of the Hanfi sect summoned their religious leaders from outside the State. Consequently, a number of Maulvis, including Jamait Ali Shah of Alipur, Suyadan Khair Shah of Amritsar, Nur Bakhsh of Sialkot and Mohamad Hussain of Kasur, Punjab, reached Jammu in the mid of 1901 and refuted what Maulvi Mohammad Ali had preached against their sect.[89]

Obviously, the preachings by the leaders of the Wahabi sect and opposition to them by those of the Hanfi sect made Jammu an arena of communal infightings. It not only created bitterness between the two Muslim sects but also generated ill feelings between the Hindus and the Muslims.[90]

In the same year, one Akram Din of Bokhara also reached Jammu and preached orthodox Islam.[91]

Thus, a wave of traditional Muslim revivalism also entered the State territories in the beginning of 20th century. In spite of the State Government's efforts to check the activities of its advocates, they left a far-reaching impact on the Muslim Society and helped in making a headway towards communalism.

D. Resurgence and Birth of Hindu Revivalism and Origin of Sectarian Organisations

As said earlier, it was not only among the Muslims but also among the Hindus of the State that a number of religious organisations were founded.

The Arya Samaj is a protestant and reformist movement within Hinduism which originated in 1869 in the Punjab. It believes in monotheism and professes to be a reversion to the religion held by the early Aryans in the time of divine revelation and as such claims to be older than Brahmanism. The founder of this faith was Swami Dayanand Sarswati who, in addition to the reform of the priesthood, contemplated the accommodation of the masses in a national religion free from ritualism.

It was as early as in 1892 that the Arya Samaj movement secured a foothold in the State when its first branch was established in Srinagar.[92] It was affiliated with the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha of Punjab, Lahore.

In Jammu Province, the first Arya Samaj branch was organised in 1902 and gradually it spread its activities to

various towns, such as Rampur Rajouri, Udhampur, Samba, Ranbir Singh Pura, Basohli and Mirpur.[93]

Besides its efforts to spread vedic principles, the Arya Samaj in Jammu and Kashmir worked with two-fold objectives. Firstly, its activities involved the working of Shudhi (purification) programme which it had adopted to reclaim those people who at different times had left the original vedic religion and had gone over to Islam or Christianity.[94] Secondly, its members were actively engaged in the Indian freedom struggle.

In Jammu, the Arya Samaj worked with much vigour to remove the untouchability through *Shudhi*.[95] Its main idea of proselytising the depressed classes was to prevent them from going over to the fold of Islam or Christianity.[96] Many orthodox Hindus, however, strongly opposed this movement. Maharaja Pratap Singh, who also belonged to this orthodox section of Hinduism, disapproved of the programme of Shudhi, saying "Dooms and Meghs have never been considered as Hindus and the activity of the Arya Samaj in converting them into Hinduism was very much to be deprecated as the propaganda was against the tenants of orthodox Hinduism. It is on account of these activities of Arya Samaj which I do not approve that I look down up on the Society as being beyond the path of orthodoxy".[97]

Consequently, in the mid of 1917, some orthodox Hindus started anti-Arya Samaj preachings in Jammu. Thus, Swami Prakashanand, a Sanatan Dharam missionary from India, criticised the activities of the Samajists through his lectures and religious sermons.[98] From the Arya Samaj side, Maharavi Shanker was the chief spokesman who had already visited Jammu in 1911. He was a prominent national leader of Bombay Presidency.[99] As a result of this tug of war between the two sects of Hinduism, a tense atmosphere was generated.[100]

The Muslims also countered the activities of Arya Samaj. Anjuman-i-Islamia organised a big gathering of Muslims in which prominent ulama from India also participated. Besides

giving religious discourses on Islam, they also resented the Arya Samaj's Shudhi Movement.[101]

The activities of the Arya Samajists in Jammu Province were, however, countered more by the orthodox Hindus than the Muslims.

In Kashmir this movement faced no substantial opposition till 1924. Here its activities were confined, in the beginning, to the non-Muslim Punjabis. But, in 1915 the Arya Samaj activists could win over a section of the Kashmiri Pandit community also who founded Arya Kumar Sabha.[102]

In 1923, the Arya Samaj could succeed in reclaiming a few Punjabi Muslims and one Kashmiri Muslim to their fold. Obviously, this development disturbed the Muslim mind. The Arya Samaj's Shudhi Movement in the Punjab also had created an apprehension among the Muslims of Kashmir. To counter the possible expansion of this movement, in 1924 the Muslim leaders, especially Mirwaiz, started an anti-Shudhi propaganda from the Jama Masjid.[103] He declared Shudhi as anti-Islam. As a consequence, the Arya Samaj leaders became more vociferous in their preachings. This Shudhi and anti-Shudhi propaganda made by the Arya Samaj and Muslim religious leadership respectively created bitterness among the two communities, and helped in widening the gap between them.

But as compared to their proselytising propaganda, Arya Samaj's involvement in Indian National movement was greater, and this also, unfortunately helped in creating a sense of separatism amongst the Muslim population. It was from its very inception that Arya Samaj had an element of political thought. "Swami Dayanand was opposed to Brahmo Samaj on the ground that it was too cosmopolitan and tolerant and lacked the essence of patriotism in that it preferred foreign influence to that of ancient Aryan faith."[104] It was because of this underlying element and also its progressive philosophy that men of advanced political thought, such as Lala Lajpat Rai,

S. Ajit Singh, Mul Chand and S.N. Banerjee became its followers.[105] Besides participating in the Arya Samaj activities, they were at the helm of Indian freedom movement. The Muslims, especially those who were already trapped in the separatist propaganda initiated by the British-Aligarh Muslim Combine, saw in the activities of these Arya Samaj leaders an attempt to establish Hindu Swaraj (self rule). They apprehended that in case the Swaraj was achieved, it would amount to the domination of Hindu majority over the Muslims.[106] Thus, they came to believe that their interests lay in opposing such a movement. It may be one of the reasons why the national movement in Punjab as well as in the Jammu and Kashmir was opposed by the Muslim leadership.[107] Naturally, the Maharaja of the State, an ally of the British, also opposed the freedom struggle.

It was as early as on 12th May, 1907, that Sant Singh, an Arya Samaj activist and teacher in Jammu High School, was dismissed and expelled from the State for publishing a pamphlet "The first step of India towards Independence."[108]

It is worthy of note here that the nationalist activities of the Arya Samaj were brought to the notice of the British Resident in the State by a leading Muslim of Srinagar.

During the period of two years from 1920 to 1922, however, when a section of the Kashmiri Muslims showed sympathy with the Khilafat movement in India and the Arya Samajists supported the non-cooperation, these two opposite movements came together. After the withdrawal of the non-cooperation movement, Kashmiri Muslim leadership again started anti-Arya Samaj movement. They made attacks on the Hindu religion and challenged the Arya Samajis to open discussion.[109]

But by 1925 the work of proselytization was no longer a live issue in India. Many organisations and individuals, who at one time were eagerly interested in this subject, diverted their attention towards the promotion of sectarian demands of their community.[110]

Till the end of our course of study, Arya Samaj remained in the forefront to create national consciousness among the people of the State. But it could secure a foothold among the liberal and progressive minded Hindus only. Its revolutionary religious ideas and aggressive way of preaching invited a permanent opposition of the orthodox Hindus as well as of all the Muslims. As a result, when the Muslims saw leading Arya Samajis at the helm of freedom struggle, they kept themselves aloof from it. Thus, in a way, the activities of Arya Samaj became one of the factors which contributed, though indirectly, towards division among the Hindus and Muslims during the national struggle.

Yet another organisation of the Hindus which played an important role in the State was the Rama Krishna Sewa Ashram. It was as early as in 1909 that the activities of the Rama Krishna Mission were extended to the State. In June 1909, Swami Chiddanand, a disciple of Swami Vivekanand, came to Kashmir and delivered a series of lectures in the valley on the teachings of Sri Rama Krishna Paramhans and Swami Vivekananda.[111] But the British Government looked upon Rama Krishna Mission as a political body. The Swami was, therefore, directed by the State Government, on the instructions of the British Resident, to leave the State territories.[112]

A few years later, in 1918, when Kashmir came in the grip of influenza epidemic, the Mission got another opportunity to establish itself here. While serving the people, Dr. Shri Ram then began to propagate the Mission's philosophy.[113] In the initial stages, this was a charitable institution and did not come under the category of Sabhas or Anjumans for the opening of which prior permission of the Government was necessary. Besides running a charitable dispensary, the Ashram supplied rice, milk, sugar, charcoal, etc., free of cost, to the needy, irrespective of caste and creed.

Apart from its charitable activities, this Ashram also opened a library and a reading room where literature concerning Rama Krishna Mission was made available.[114] 'New India',

a paper edited by Dr. Annie Basant of the Home Rule Movement, also found its way there.[115]

The Rama Krishna Ashram exercised a great influence over the well educated section of the society and almost all the graduates and college students of Kashmir became its members.[116] During the course of this Meat Strike Agitation in 1920, the activists of Rama Krishna Ashram were at the forefront.

Although there is no evidence to label this movement as one inspiring a feeling of Hindu revivalism and national pride amongst the people, yet its activities in the Muslim majority area could not but have created a feeling of mutual suspicion among the two communities.

Spread of Western education and thought, as already said, created a sense of class awareness among the people of various sections of society. Consequently, the people aligned themselves on sectarian basis. In this process, whereas the Muslims made Islam as the only base for joining hands together, the Hindus chose their castes or class for the purpose.

The Hindus began by establishing the Sri Mukhya Braham Mandal Sabha in 1890 in Jammu for the propagation of the Sanatan Dharam religion.[117] Soon this organisation established its branches at Samba, Katra, Mirpur, Ramnagar and Kishtwar.[118] In 1917, it took up the cause of Hindi and tried to persuade the State Government to make the teaching of this language compulsory in all the educational institutions. The Sabha also believed that the "Hindu religion, Hindu ethics, Hindu scriptures and Hindu civilization can be protected only if every Hindu knows the Sanskrit Alphabet and learns to read and write his vernacular through that Alphabet".[119] But the Maharaja turned down the demand to make Hindi compulsory in the State educational institutions and proposed to spread this language through other means.[120]

It was with the same objective that in 1893 the Hindus of Srinagar organised themselves into Sanatan Dharam Sabha. It

extended its activities to Baramula and Muzaffarabad also.[121] Among the various activities of this Sabha were the spread of ideals of Sanatan Dharam, to counter the Arya Samaj propaganda and the management of Hindu temples and other religious institutions.

In 1906, the Hindus of Srinagar established another organisation named Hindu Sahik Sabha. It was a benevolent society.[122] Similarly, the Hindus of Kishtwar founded Hindu Dharam Sabha in 1913.[123]

A number of caste groups among the Hindus of the Jammu Province also organised themselves in various sectarian organisations. These included Mahajan Sabha, Jammu (1895), Shri Amar Kashtriya Rajput Sabha, Jammu (1906), Mohayal Sabha (1914), Thakkar Sabha, Riasi (1915)[124] and Kashmiri Pandit Sabha, Jammu (1914).[125]

These organisations further divided the Hindu society into water tight compartments. It created intense caste and class awareness among its members who became more interested in the affairs of their respective castes.

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30. In 1886, Sayed Ahmed Khan organised Mohammadan Educational Conference. This was infact a political body. It was through this body that he wanted to organise Muslims all over the country by establishing its branches. It was to report on the state of education

in Muslim community and also to investigate their other requirements such as agricultural, commercial and industrial. This conference played an important role to evolve a feeling of solidarity among the Muslims of India and also became an instrumental in creating a class consciousness in the Muslim community in general. See Tara Chand, *History of the Freedom Movement in India*, Vol. II, Delhi, 1967, p. 374.

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36. *Secretary, All India Muslim Kashmiri Conference, Lahore to Private Secretary to Maharaja*, 25th November, 1916, MH Private Deptt., J & K Govt., F. No. 16, 1916.

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55. *S.M. Abdullah, President, All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference to His Holiness, the Hazarat, Khalifa-tul-Masi-ul-Sani Rahmat Allia*, Dt. n g., Pol., F. No. 68-Pol. (Secret), 1934, Crown Representative Papers, Microfilm, Acc. No. 288.

56. Khan, G.H., *op cit.*, p. 167.

57. S.M. *Abdullah, President, All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference to His Holiness, the Hazarat, Khalifa-tul-Masi-ul-Sani Rahmat Allia*, Dt. n.g., Pol., F. No. 68-Pol. (Secret), 1934, Crown Representative Papers, Microfilm, Acc. No. 288.

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6

Communal Disturbances

The cumulative effect of the various factors and developments highlighted in the earlier pages, which put a strain on the relations between various communities in the State, sometimes led to communal disturbances or riots also. According to one scholar, "Communal riots are not the main form or content of communalism. They were, in the main, its reflection, its active episodic expression, its bitter and virulent manifestation and consequence, and one of the instruments and agencies for its spread."[1] Communal riots are also the ultimate result of communal passions generated by communal elements through either oral vicious propaganda or inflamatory writings. They use the worst form of expression of communalism and work as a major driving force to create dissensions among the waring communities on a large scale and for more years to come. They leave behind a legacy which sometimes becomes a permanent milestone leading to separation.

A. Disturbances in Pre-Non-Cooperation Period

In Jammu and Kashmir communal disturbances first took place during the last decade of the 19th century. The Shias and Sunnis clashed in Kashmir in 1872 owing to their tradi-

tional ideological differences,[2] besides their clash in the economic interests.[3]

The Hindus and the Muslims also quarrelled over the possession of a bathing place at Alikadal, Srinagar in 1893. This may indeed be said to have been the first instance of the communal outburst in the real sense as a result of the activities of communal elements in Kashmir.[4]

The next year, i.e., in 1894, there erupted Hindu-Muslim feuds in the Poonch town also due to some misunderstanding among the two communities. In the course of these disturbances, the warring parties desecrated each other's religious places and the Poonch town remained cut off for a number of days from the rest of the country.[5]

In consequence of the Islamic revivalism in the last quarter of 19th century, the Muslims of village Arnia of Ranbir Singh Pura tehsil in Jammu Province started in 1895 the practice of saying *Azan* (call to prayer) which they had not been doing since time immemorial.[6] The Hindus of the area objected to this, and both the communities quarrelled over the issue. The State authorities intervened and restored peace by bringing the parties to a mutual agreement. As a result, the right of the Muslims to say *Azan* was protected.[7] It is to be noted that this was the only communal dispute which took place in a Hindu majority area till 1930.

But the communal disturbances that occurred in Mirpur in 1897 were more influenced by economic causes than religious.[8] Here religion was used but as an instrument to flare up the communal feelings to avenge the opposite party. Actually the Muslim peasantry was labouring under the feelings of exploitation due to the mortgage policy of the Sahukars who were mostly Hindus. Their grievances were supplemented by the suspicion that some Hindu shopkeepers were providing information to the police about those persons of their community who were involved in cow-killing cases. Consequently, in 1897, the Muslims of village Kheri of Mirpur tehsil forced the

Hindu shopkeepers to leave their village and also dispossessed them from the lands which they had mortgaged. They also championed the cause of those who were involved in cow-killing cases and subscribed for their defence in the law courts. The situation might have become worse but for the intervention of the Governor, Jammu, who restored peace.[9]

In 1913, two incidents, coupled with the traditional rivalry among the local Hindu and Muslim officials, led to a communal outburst in the town of Poonch.[10] It was alleged that Dewan Badri Nath, Jailor of Poonch, committed a secrilege to Quran. This was sufficient for the bad elements to flare up communal feelings among the Muslims. The opening of a *Jhatka* meat shop in the town became another cause which was exploited by the polito-religious click of the Muslim elites.[11] They used the platform of Anjuman-i-Islamia to spearhead a communal movement in the Poonch illaqa.[12] As a reaction, the Hindus of the town allegedly incited the Hindu officials against the Muslims. They were also blamed for throwing a skin near a mosque. The Government was, however, able to restore normalcy, though with difficulty, and expelled four persons for spearheading this movement.[13]

In 1914 trouble broke out in Rampur Rajouri also. One Maulvi Abdur Rehman then undertook a communal propaganda in this illaqa. Besides fanatic preachings, he excited the Muslims against the highhandedness of the Mahajan Sahukars of the area.[14] He termed the exploitation of the Sahukars as a case of Hindus exploiting the Muslims. He further declared that cow sacrifice on the occasion of Id-ul-Baqar was a religious duty of the Muslims and that it was in vogue when Rajouri was under the Muslim rulers. According to him, the moment the cow slaughter was stopped, the Muslims had lost their authority. But they could reassert their authority by resuming this practice. He also condemned those Muslims who appeared as witnesses in the judicial courts of Jammu against the cow killers. He said that they were working against the tenants of Islam. He declared Ram and Guru Nanak as 'Satan'. He asked the Muslims not to eat

the things touched by the Hindus. Advocating the need of unity among the Muslims, he said that the Muslim rulers had lost their power owing to disunity and if the Muslims of the area now united together, their rule could be re-established. Thus, it was an open attempt to incite the Muslims to revolt against the ruling authority.

Likewise, he instigated the Muslim agriculturists to launch an economic blockade of the Hindus of Rajouri. For this purpose, he suggested that the Muslims should not work as cattle grazers of the Hindus, supply them grass and fuel, and mortgage or sell land to them. He also proposed that, in order to relieve the poor Muslims from the clutches of the Sahukars, not only subscriptions should be collected but a grain fund also be opened by collecting two maunds of maize from every Muslim family.[15]

The Maulvi's preaching had a far-reaching impact on the minds of Muslims.[16] In the villages where he preached, they refused to get vaccinated by a Hindu vaccinator.[17] The Muslim village officials, like Lambardars and chowkidars, also refused to cooperate with the Hindu officials. The Muslim Gujjars of the area adjoining the Rajouri town made it a regular feature to assemble in thousands on a ground near the town on the occasion of *Jumma* prayers.[18] In view of this development, the local Hindu population apprehended breach of peace. The consequent communal tension led to a spate of complaints and counter complaints by the two communities.

But the Muslims belonging to the Anjuman-i-Islamia of the Rajouri branch dissociated themselves from the activities of the Maulvi. They even requested the authorities to put a stop to his communal propaganda. The local authorities helped them in reaching an agreement on the issue. According to it, the Muslims of the Rajouri town and some adjoining villages only were to assemble in a religious gathering on the ground near the town.[19]

Despite this agreement, however, a few trouble mongers among the Hindus and the Muslims continued to agitate

against each other. The Hindus also submitted a number of petitions to the authorities to get the Maulvi's ouster from the Rajouri illaqa.[20] But the Muslims opposed it and termed the Hindus' opposition to the Maulvi as their attempt to suppress the feelings of the exploited and oppressed Muslims.

The situation took a serious turn when, on 18th April, 1914, the Maulvi left Rajouri[21] on the instructions of the Government. The vested interests then spread the rumour that certain Hindu shopkeepers of Rajouri had trampled the Quran under their feet and had also mixed pork with flour.[22]

Consequently, thousands of Muslim Gujjars from the adjoining villages ransacked the Rajouri town. The shops of the Hindus were looted and they were beaten.[23] But no loss of life was reported and the Government's timely intervention prevented the situation from turning to the worst.

In the mid of 1920, Raja Sukhdev Singh of Poonch attained majority and was invested with the powers of Raja. A race to exert more influence over the young Raja then started among the higher officials. K.B. Choudhri Mohamad Din, who had hitherto enjoyed a position of great influence had, however, to eat a humble pie[24] in this race. In order to regain his position and influence over the Raja, he adopted the path of confrontation and instigated his supporters to flare up communalism. They organised mass meetings and banned the flame of ill feelings between the Hindus and the Muslims. They also tried to create unrest and disaffection among the Sudhans, the dominant Muslim tribe of the area,[25] by instigating them against the Hindu Raja. The Government then expelled six persons from Poonch for their involvement in the trouble. Although three of them were Hindus, yet the Muslims declared it a case of repression on their community by the Hindu Raja.[26] Consequently, their organisations, especially the All India Muslim Kashmiri Conference, made every effort to show that the Hindu officials of the Raja were prosecuting the Muslims of Poonch. But fortunately no riots took place.

B. Disturbances During Post-Non-Cooperation Period

As already explained, by 1922 the political alliance between the Khilafats and the Congress had broken down, and, with this, the old communal jealousies had begun to re-assert throughout India. In Jammu and Kashmir also, the post Khilafat-non-cooperation period came to be the worst hit phase from the point of view of communal harmony.

Thus, in August, 1923, the Hindu Bohras and Muslims of Baramulla came to have a dispute over the possession of a site lying between a Hindu temple and a platform used by the Muslims for prayers. Although neither of the party had a rightful claim over this site, yet the Hindu Bohras had been using it to say their prayers. The Muslims now objected to this practice on the ground that the saying of prayers by the Bohras, while the Muslims were doing Sijda in the course of their Namaz brought disgrace to their religion.[27] Therefore, they occupied the place forcibly. This led to a quarrel between the two parties. The Wazir wazarat of Baramulla then intervened and used his influence to bring both the parties to a mutual agreement.[28] According to it, neither of the party was to use the disputed land for any activity.[29]

In the second half of June 1924, another dispute arose between the Hindus and Muslims of Anantnag over the construction of a religious platform by the Muslims on a piece of land adjoining a spring commonly used by both the communities. The State Government deputed Chaudhri Khushi Mohammad, one of the members of the State Council, to go there and settle the dispute.[30] He summoned the Muslim leaders involved in the dispute, and asked them to remove the illegal construction. But they pleaded that the angry mob was in no mood to listen to them.[31] Thereupon, he himself went to the local Jama Mosque to say prayers and took the opportunity to explain the position to the congregation. This had a far-reaching effect and the Muslims agreed to remove the illegal construction, although the communal elements in both

the communities continued to stir trouble by spreading all sorts of rumours.[32]

The communal disturbances which occurred during the course of the 'Srinagar Silk Factory strike' in July 1924 were, however, of the worst kind in the recent years. On 27th May, 1924, the Muslim workers of this factory struck work. They putforth various demands which included the appointment of only European officers in the senior grade under whom both Hindu as well as Muslim officials should work, punishment to the corrupt officials, and increase in wages. They also complained about the alleged high-handedness of the Kashmiri Pandit officials.[33]

McNamara, the Director of the Factory, appointed a committee composed of 2 Europeans, 2 Kashmiri Pandits, 2 Muslims and 1 Punjabi Hindu to look into the grievances of the labourers. On receiving its report, he accepted majority of the demands,[34] barring a few which involved major policy decisions. But the Muslim labourers were still not satisfied. Consequently, they intensified their agitation. But the Hindu as well as Muslim female workers refused to cooperate with them Enraged, on 18th July, 1924, the striking Muslim labourers attacked about 4 Hindu employees, besides some Hindu officials of the Silk factory.[35] They also damaged the State property, including the factory building, forcibly blocked the factory gates, and hit three policemen on duty. The State authorities had then to summon troops, and brought the situation under control with their help.[36] Twenty-five of the strikers involved in rioting were arrested.[37]

On the morning of 22nd July, a large crowd assembled outside the city police station and tried to rescue the arrested persons by force. Observing the crowd going out of control, the District Magistrate on duty sought the help of the army, but armed with sticks and lances only. The mob, however, refused to disperse when ordered, and pelted stones even on the Army. The authorities then used force to disperse the unorderly mob.[38] Although there were no casualties, a rumour

was spread that a large number of Muslims had been killed,[39] and the ring leaders even collected money for the fictitious burial of the alleged victims.

The Silk Factory Strike thus acquired a communal colour. A number of reasons contributed for this development. Firstly, the officers against whom the allegations were made belonged to the Kashmiri Pandit community. Secondly, most of the non-Muslim labourers refused to cooperate with the agitators. Thirdly, when the State Government tried to maintain law and order, its efforts were termed as atrocities committed by a Hindu Government on its Muslim subjects.

On receiving the information of the alleged oppression of the State Government on the Muslims, a number of Muslim organisations of Punjab and elsewhere, like the All India Muslim Kashmiri Conference,[40] the Khilafat Committee, Lahore, the Anjuman Kashmiri Muslims, Amritsar, and Jamialudam, Delhi, and the Muslims of Simla and Gujranwala in the Punjab undertook a forceful propaganda through press and platform[41] against the Hindu Maharaja of the State and his Government. The All India Muslim Kashmiri Conference and the Muslims of Lahore organised a 'Kashmir Relief Committee' to help the families of those allegedly killed or having suffered in the course of the trouble.[42] They also questioned the authority of the Dogras as rulers of the State.[43]

In August 1924, another major communal disturbances occurred in Srinagar over the alleged secrilege to Sri Mahakali Devi temple of the Hindus and the damage done to the Khanqah Moulla Shrine of the Muslims. People of both the communities blamed each other for the secrilege. The State authorities believed that it was an attempt by certain ill disposed elements to stir up ill feelings among the Hindus and the Muslims.

The religious leaders of the Khanqah-i-Maula Shrine contacted the All India Muslim Kashmiri Conference to lend them support over the issue.[44] The Muslim organisations

also made attempts to raise this question with the Viceroy of India.[45]

On 26th August, 1924, the State authorities constituted a conciliatory board-cum-enquiry committee to which influential members of both the communities were nominated.[46] But the Board's efforts to bring the warring parties to some agreement failed, with the result that the trouble continued till December 1924. The Hindus were beaten and the passage to their Shrine was blocked. The Hindu *Halwais* (sweet makers) were prevented to open sweet stalls on the occasion of Mahakali festival.[47] However, as the leaders of both the communities had come to an agreement, the trouble subsided in due course of time.[48]

C. Communal Disturbances During 1931

Despite the various communal disturbances which occurred during the first quarter of the 19th century, the traditional communal amity between the Hindus and the Muslims, by and large, remained unaffected. There was also no change in the attitude of the majority of the Muslims towards their Hindu Maharaja whom they held in high esteem and regard. The first five years of Maharaja Hari Singh's rule (1925-1930) also passed off peacefully and free from any communal disturbance.

But the situation changed in 1931 when Hindu-Muslim riots erupted on a large scale, throughout the State. The beginning of this trouble was made in Jammu. The trouble started when on June 4, 1931, one constable, Fazaldad of Jammu Jail Police, alleged that Labhaya Ram, a Head Constable, had snatched away the *Panj Surah*, an abridged edition of the Quran, from his hands and threw it on the ground. He addressed one of the three petitions to the local Youngmen's Muslim Association.[49]

The Youngmen's Muslim Association atonce took up the issue and gave a call to the Muslims of the State to hold protest meetings. They issued a poster and its copies were

also sent to Young Muslim Party, Srinagar, of which S.M. Abdullah was the leader.[50] In Srinagar, the police arrested one Mohammad Ismail when he was pasting these posters. But the police had to let Mohammad Ismail off when a large crowd of Muslims followed them to the police station.

Later, S.M. Abdullah, who was leading this crowd, led it to the *Jama Masjid* where he delivered a lecture, warning the State Government that until those who were responsible for insulting the Quran were punished, their agitation would continue.[51]

To pacify the agitators, the Governor of Kashmir met some leading Muslims of Srinagar and requested them to use their influence to ease the prevailing tension. Similar attempt was made by Wakefield, the then Political Minister of the State, to enquire into the incident at Jammu. He along with two representatives of the Muslims of Jammu investigated the matter and found that the Muslim constable had presented a fabricated view of the whole episode.

Yet Maharaja Hari Singh deplored the incident, and, on the recommendation of the Enquiry Committee, retired Head Constable, Labhaya Ram, from service for his misbehaviour and dismissed Fazaldad from service for misstating the facts which had led to breach of communal harmony.[52]

Despite the fact that everything was settled amicably, the Muslim element of Punjab once again got the opportunity to resume their traditional anti-Hindu Government activities. The Quran incident in its false version was given a very wide publicity by the Muslim press of the Punjab. All India Muslim Kashmiri Conference put forth a demand that a Committee of the Muslims from outside the State should be allowed to enquire into the matter. But the State Government refused to allow any outsider to interfere in the local matters.

The agitation over the Quran incident had become a test case for the Muslim leadership and particularly for S.M.

Abdullah and his party, who were looking for an opportunity to launch an anti-State Government movement in the State. Sensing the mood of the Muslims, the leaders of Young Muslim Party continued holding public meetings, and incited the Muslims against the Maharaja's Government[53] They also condemned the Kashmiri Pandit community for having monopolised most of the jobs in the State services. In the mean while some Muslim leaders from Jammu also reached Srinagar and made speeches inciting their co-religionists against the Maharaja and his Hindu officials. "Islam in danger" was the general cry of the Muslim leaders towards the end of June 1931.[54] The Muslim organisations, Anglo Indian and Muslim press of outside State were lending front line support to this agitation.

In its course, the Young Muslim Party convened a public meeting at the Khanqah-i-Maulla of Srinagar on 21st June, 1931.[55] Among the various leaders present in this meeting were the traditional enemies, Mir Waiz Yusuf Shah and Mir Waiz Ahmed Ullah Hamdani. Their joining hands together set ablaze the public sentiments. The leaders delivered fiery speeches. S.M. Abdullah exhorted the Muslims to prepare to do or die to attain the objective of wresting their rights from the Government. Later, a copy of the Quran was brought before the gathering and each one was made to swear to stand-fast in their struggle. According to one estimate about one lakh Muslims attended this meeting.

After the meeting was over, Abdul Qadir, an illiterate cook by profession, began to address the crowd which had not yet dispersed. This man, who had come from Peshawar along with Maj. Batt of the Yorkshire Regiment to spend his leave in the Kashmir valley, was frequently visiting the Hazaratbal Shrine and also addressing the Muslim religious congregations. In his address, Abdul Qadir invited the crowd to rise in revolt against the Maharaja's Government and, pointing towards the royal palace, he said "bring it to ruins".[56] He also "invited his hearers to kill Hindus and burn their temples".[57]

It was on 25th June, 1931, that Abdul Qadir was arrested for sedition and making inflammatory utterances. During the course of his trial in the court of City Magistrate, Srinagar, a large crowd of excited Muslims began to gather outside the court premises and used to raise anti-Government slogans.

Maharaja's repeated appeals to maintain peace and tranquillity had no effect on the leaders. S.M. Abdullah and his party continued convening public meetings and exhorting the Muslims to be prepared for every sacrifice.

Gradually, the excited mood of the crowd became threatening and sensing the breach of peace, the trial judge shifted the trial venue inside the central jail.[58]

On July 13, when the case proceedings were going on, a large crowd of about five thousand Muslims collected outside the central jail and pressed for admission to hear the proceedings inside the jail.[59] After it was refused by the guard on duty, the crowd, on the incitement of some ring leaders, started pelting stones on the police guard. Apprehending further rioting, the trial judge sought police reinforcement from the city. During this time, three of the guards were injured seriously when the crowd assaulted them to force their entry into the jail. Meanwhile, the police reinforcements reached the spot. Seeing them, the crowd started pelting stones on them also. Thereupon, the crowd was declared an unlawful assembly and ordered to disperse. But it had no effect on the mob who continued pelting stones on the police. Feeling the strength of the police force inadequate and in danger of being overpowered, the Magistrate ordered the police to fire. About ten persons were killed and forty were injured.[60]

After the firing, the crowd dispersed. On their way back, they assaulted and looted the Hindus. In Maharaj Ganj, a large number of their shops were looted and burnt. Similar rioting was indulged in at Vicharnag where some Hindu women were also molested.[61]

Soon, the Srinagar city was handed over to the army. During the night, some miscreants attacked a military picket and tried to seize their rifles. The military opened fire and one more person was killed.

It was on 14th July that S.M. Abdullah and some other Muslim leaders were arrested. They also included three Muslim leaders of Jammu who had gone in deputation to Srinagar to meet the Maharaja, but had involved themselves in the agitation.

The Maharaja ordered the appointment of an enquiry commission, under the chairmanship of Justice Sir Barjor Dalal, a Parsi as chairman and two judges of the High Court one Hindu and one Muslim to look into the causes of the July 1931 riots. On 31st July, he also ordered the unconditional release of all the persons arrested during the July 1931 riots. This was, however, done after S.M. Abdullah and others had given an understanding "to refrain from further agitation".[62]

On 26th August, 1931, a truce in the form of understanding, was signed between the Muslim representatives and the Prime Minister of the State. But S.M. Abdullah broke the understanding by making political speeches in the mosques[63] and inicited the Muslims against the State Government. Consequently, the Government arrested him and some other leaders, and with this began another phase of the Muslim agitation.[64] According to the Resident, it was at the behest of the Ahmediya Khalifa that S.M. Abdullah had started this agitation with a view to lessening the influence of the Ahrar Party[65] which had by this time started anti-State Government agitation from Punjab.

In the Jammu Province, the agitation led by the Youngmen's Muslim Association and the influx of Ahrar volunteers from the Punjab had led to communal rioting and looting in the Jammu city and the Mirpur district.[64] On the instigation of the Ahrar Missionaries in the Mirpur illaqa, the local Muslim

leaders had begun using the occasions of Juma prayers for inciting the Muslim public against the Hindus and the State Government.[67] According to C.V. Salasbury, Officer on Special Duty in Mirpur, "during January (1932), the tone of speeches delivered from Mosques pulbits further detoriorated".[68] The local Maulvis and Maulvis from Punjab started visiting villages and invited the villagers to attack Hindus and destroy temples. "Gauhar Rehman, the leader of Youngmen's Muslim Association, Jammu, had also visited the tehsil and it was on 25th December, 1931, that he launched his civil-disobedience and non-payment of taxes movement."[69] On 15th January, 1932, a Maulvi from Kashmir also reached the Rajouri illaqa and his preachings at Drahal led to the looting of Hindu shops on that night. On 22nd January also, which was observed as the 'Mirpur Day', the Hindus of Mirpur, Kotli, Rajouri and Naushara tehsils were attacked and their property was burnt.[70] Some of them were reported to have been also forcibly converted to Islam. They included 41 in the Kotli police station area, and 435 in 10 villages of the Seri police station area. Similar incidents were repeated in Naushara also, where 13 Hindu families had to abandon their religion to save their lives and property.[71] In the Kotli tehsil, about 5 Hindus were killed. On 24th January, the town of Seri was burnt. This followed the burning of Gurdwaras at Alibeg and Sukhchainpur on 29th January.[72]

Most of the above detailed communal troubles were confined to the areas where polito-economic interests of one community clashed with those of the other. Thus, the Shia-Sunni riots of 1872; Mirpur disturbances of 1897; Poonch disturbances of 1913 and 1923; Rajouri riots of 1914; Srinagar Silk Factory riots of 1924, and the communal riots of 1931, owe their origin mainly to the polito-economic differences between the two major communities of the State. Moreover, in almost all the cases, except that of 1931 riots, the troubles were confined to the urban areas of the State only. With the exception of the Rajouri riots as well as the communal riots of 1931, the overwhelming majority of the population remained

unaffected. Again, the new educated as well as religious elites who were influenced by the new religious revivalism, acted as instigators of these troubles. The outside communal elements also played a major role in inciting the local people to resort to the path of confrontation, which led to communal troubles. And, finally, majority of the disturbances occurred in those areas where the Muslims were in majority.

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7

Leadership

A. Traditional Leadership

Arnold Toynbee, a great historian of the 20th century, assigns a major role to creative individuals (Leadership) in the growth of civilization. He says that it is only this group of people who respond to various challenges of the time and thus lead to the progress and prosperity of the said society. The moment it fails to combat the incoming challenges, the decline of that civilization becomes inevitable.

Actually, leadership is the index of the mind of a particular community. The masses neither have the capacity nor will to take any decision at different occasions. So, much depends on how the leaders of different communities respond in a given set of conditions. In an orthodox and ethnically heterogeneous society like the one in Jammu and Kashmir, the communal leadership becomes all the more important because it gets an additional opportunity to streamline the people's sentiments in any way it likes.

Leadership in the modern sense, however, did not exist in 1846 when the State came into existence. At that time the masses were guided at different levels by the elites (political

and religious) of different communities. Some of these, especially the political elites, had direct relation with the ruling authority,[1] thus enjoying vast influence. Then, there were the Jagirdars who, by dint of their political influence, enjoyed vast landed estates from the State.[2] As it was not feasible for a ruler to have live communication with his subjects, so it was through this agency that he could assert his authority.

The moment the new influences weakened the position of the traditional elites, it gave way to new type of leadership which too was from the upper class. This transformation took place when the State was fully exposed to the developments of modern world. The leadership possessed different ethics. With the increase in the importance of religion in the early 20th century politics, only those could claim to be important leaders who were expert in arousing the religious sentiments of their community in the so called "larger interests". As a result of the communal posture adopted by the new leadership, the age old cordiality among the various communities was shattered.

Both Hindus and Muslims had some traditional categories of social elites like Brahmins, Rajputs and trading Khatris among the former and the ruling Mughals and Pathans, as well as Muslim Rajputs among the latter community. Among these classes only a limited number enjoyed the position of honour and influence, the criteria being possession of *jagirs*, high offices, big business and other paraphernalia of patronage of royal court and tradition of aristocracy and landlordism.[3] Most of them who had adopted agriculture as profession in preference to that of wearing arms, had forfeited their elite position.[4] But the martial Rajput classes among Muslims, such as Chibs, Jarals, Khokhars, Bombas, Ghakkars, Minhas, Charaks, etc., were still treated as leaders of Muslim community. Their leading position might partly has been due to their affinity with the ruler of Jammu and Kashmir State.

Among the Muslims, the religious elites consisted of the *Sayyids* who practised *Pirmuridis*, the *Mirwaizs* who followed

the vocation of spiritual tuition to their disciples, the Sheikhs who included *Pirzadas*, *Babazadas*, *Rishis*, *Sajjada Nashins* or Sanitors of Prophet Mohamed[5], and *Mullas*, *Naqashbandis*[6], etc.

In the villages, the socio-political leaders, such as *Lambardars* and *Zaildars*, and religious leaders, such as *Pandits*, *Mullas*, *Maulvis*, *Mahants* (Sikh) and *Lamas* (Buddhists) formed the group which guided the people.[7] These also belonged to one or the other of the afore-mentioned castes and classes. Moreover, they, being leading members of the society, were patronised by the State, too.

There were also caste covenants which were prevalent among almost all the tribal groups of different communities. Being located in remote corners which could not be approached owing to the difficulties of communication, the people there looked towards these local bodies on matters social and religious and also judicial. Moreover, this community was essentially priest-ridden. So, the religious elite, like *Pandits*, *Pirs*, *Mahants*, *Mullas and Lamas*, not only exercised jurisdiction over religious matters but also often guided their devotees even in matters social and judicial.[8] Most of the disputes were not taken to the law courts but were disposed of by the local religious leaders. Sometimes elders of the village community, like *Lambardars* and *Zaildars*, sat together to square up petty differences of the inhabitants of their villages.[9]

The caste *panchayats* like those of *tarkhans* and Jhirs, and religious institutions like those of *granthis* and *mahants* in case of Sikhs, *lamas* in case of Buddhists of Ladakh and *qazis* in case of Muslims, decided the disputes of their respective communities and hence wielded great influence on their followers. Big landlords also guided the destiny of the people of their *illaqa* irrespective of caste, creed and colour as people depended upon them in various ways for the fulfilment of their needs.

A far-reaching change came in the composition of the political elite after Golab Singh became the Maharaja of

Jammu and Kashmir in 1846. At that time the Jammu region was divided into about 35 petty fiefdoms. The establishment of a powerful and centralised authority threatened their existence as separate entities. Hence, many of them became ready to resist. The fact that once Golab Singh himself was a petty chief, like them, made it all the more difficult for them to accept his overlordship easily. Moreover, these petty chieftains had the backing of their respective tribal groups. So, it was not possible for Golab Singh to establish his complete sway over their areas in the presence of their tribal chiefs.[10] Consequently, with the help of the British Government of India, Golab Singh got majority of them exiled out of the State and made them cash payments in lieu of their estates.[11]

This development brought about a sea change in the composition of the political elite of Jammu. Now, the *old fiefs* either began to be directly ruled over by the Government of Jammu and Kashmir or were given to the kith and kins of the Royal House. Consequently, their inhabitants, who had earlier seen their own tribesmen at the helm of affairs, now looked towards their new political leaders for guidance.

But in ordinary cases where the chiefs were decile or too petty, Golab Singh did not disturb the existing set up. Thus, he restored about three hundred *Jagirdars* (Muslims formed absolute majority among them) to their traditional rights.[12] He did not disturb them for two reasons. First, being a Hindu Dogra Rajput, he required the cooperation of these influential political leaders of the Muslims in strengthening his position in the Muslim majority areas. Secondly, in the pre-industrial society as the State was, the lack of means of transport and communication made direct administration impossible at the grass-root level. An additional consideration for this policy on the part of Golab Singh seems to have been the fact that the political elite whom he deposed belonged mostly to his own caste group, i.e., Dogra Rajputs, and it was not difficult for him to put down their consequent resentment by winning over their followers (Hindus) to his own side. But in the case

of Muslim elite, with whom he had to deal in the post 1846 days, political wisdom demanded no major reshuffling in their composition. Moreover, majority of this group reposed confidence in the new ruling authority.[13]

Thus, we see that Golab Singh and his successors also resorted to twofold policy. First, in the ordinary circumstances, they did not disturb the traditional elites from their position. But those who opposed or were ready to oppose him were deprived of their privileges, while the others, like Jarals of Rampur Rajouri, who showed extraordinary loyalties, were rewarded with special grants.[14] Secondly, they created a new group of political elites who mostly belonged to the Rajput caste of the Dogra Hindus. Being close to the royal family, they could invariably be expected to work loyally.

Accordingly, Maharaja Ranbir Singh invited the Rajputs of his nearest blood from Jammu district to come and settle in the Kashmir valley, a predominantly Muslim division. They were assured of special grants of land. Consequently, a large number of Dogra Rajputs came to settle in the valley.[15] Similarly, a number of Rajput families of Jammu were invited to settle in the Poonch *illaqa* and help the Raja to consolidate his influence over his Muslim subjects who formed 94 per cent of the total population.

Furthermore, it was the general policy of the Dogra rulers to grant special grants of land to the heads of religious institutions of all communities. Thus, on the occasion of their respective festive occasions, grants of *Khilats* were presented to *Maulvies* and *Mufties* of various mosques and also religious heads of Hindu, Sikh and Buddhist shrines, as a matter of general policy by the Dogra kings. This special favour from the Government further strengthened the position of the religious elites.

Thus, we see that the establishment of the Dogra rule in Jammu and Kashmir State did not bring about any change in the position of the traditional Muslim elite groups. Those

who possessed *Jagirs* or enjoyed other privileges were, by and large, not dislodged from their privileged position as it was done in the case of Hindu political elites. The polito-economic leadership of the community, therefore, stayed in the hands of traditional aristocrats. Similarly, not only no attempt was made to dislodge the Muslim upper class from its socio-religious leadership, but the rulers also took some measures to further strengthen their position among the masses. No wonder, the traditional leadership of the Muslims came to feel that their interests were secure in the hands of the Dogra rulers. This was the reason why they remained loyal to the Dogra kings in spite of the fact that they belonged to different religion. As long as they remained powerful enough and capable of asserting their influence among the masses, there arose no occasion for any dispute between the different communities to escalate and result in a major clash between them.

B. New Leadership

But with the dawn of the last quarter of the 19th century, when modernisation of the State administration was ushered in by the Dogra kings, the situation began to undergo a change. Land settlement, encouragement to handicrafts and cottage industry, improvements in the means of transport and communication and, above all, spread of western education in the State, opened up fresh avenues of employment for its people. There was almost a scramble between the educated classes of the two communities of Hindus and Muslims for a bigger share in the loaves and fishes available. This state of affairs got a further boost at the hands of those lower middle class educated Muslims who were greatly influenced by the Pan-Islamic ideas which had taken their birth on the Indian soil. They suddenly discovered the fundamental and unbridgeable differences between the Hindus and the Muslims. In such circumstances, the Muslim traditional political elites, who had shun modernisation, began to be increasingly isolated. Barring few exceptions, a majority of them did not take the bold step of breaking away from their traditional past. Consequently, by the beginning of the 20th century, the political leadership,

which their forefathers had assumed centuries back, started slipping away from their hands. And within three decades i.e., by 1930's, we find this elite group totally cut off from the political leadership of the Muslim masses.

But it may also be emphasised here that when the traditional Muslim elite failed to retain their influence in the new circumstances, the majority of members of the religious elite among them did not hesitate to play a second fiddle to the newly emerging middle class leadership. It is possible that the communal elements among the Muslim community had accepted the Dogra rulers only as a forced alternative. And, with the emergence of new leadership, they seem to have observed in them a potential force which could overthrow the so-called infidel rule of the Dogra Hindus.

Till 1920, the chief issue before the Muslim leadership was to plead the cause of Muslim education. In the beginning, when the State Government initiated measures for the spread of western education, the Muslims had shown little interest in this field. Hence, they had lagged much behind the Hindus who showed great enthusiasm in acquiring the new knowledge. But this knowledge was essential for seeking employment in the reorganised State Government services. The Muslims, particularly of Kashmir, naturally found little representation in the State services. Hence, the concern of the new leadership with this problem increased. Because the Hindus, by and large, had forged much ahead, it came to the conclusion that the interests of the Muslims were different from those of the Hindus, and, therefore, there was practically no meeting ground between the two communities.

(a) Nationalist Leadership

As we have noted in the earlier pages, some Hindus also had founded a number of caste and communal organisations which strived to further their respective interests. There was also an element among them which worked for the spread

of nationalism-and to further the cause of Indian National Movement in the State.

The first among the Hindu leaders who engaged himself in nationalist activities was Sant Singh, a teacher of a High School in Jammu. He was dismissed from service and expelled from the State on 12th May, 1907, for having taken part in the Swadeshi Movement. He also wrote a pamphlet entitled, "India's first step towards Independence."[16] Gobin Sahai, an employee of A.G. office and also the President of the Arya Samaj, got distributed this pamphlet in Srinagar among the local students through Hukam Chand, a school teacher and also secretary of the Arya Samaj.

In 1909, one Vishawa Nath, proprietor of the Public Medical Hall, Jammu, was expelled from the State for indulging in similar activities. He was the agent for the sale of Inquilab and other revolutionary papers and books [17]

The year 1920 is remarkable as Mahatama Gandhi then started Non-Cooperation Movement in India. The Muslim leaders of India were also at that time very much exercised over the Khilafat question. This led to the Congress-*Khilafat* alliance at the national level. The leaders of both the communities in the State also came together and the cries of Hindu-Muslim unity could be heard on its soil.[18]

It was during this period that a number of youngmen belonging to the State, including Jai Lal Killam, Sat Lal and Madu Sudan Kak, returned from the Indian Universities with Law and Arts degrees. Being educated youth and having been exposed to various political developments in India, they soon became the moving spirits of the movement in Srinagar. Meanwhile, Qamar-ud-Din, a Kashmiri *Khilafat* activist, also arrived in Srinagar from Lahore to carry on the Khilafat propaganda.[19] In the middle of July 1920, he joined hands with a number of local leaders, including *Maulvi* Abdullah pleader[20] and Mohamad Ayub of the Ahmediya Sect, and Shambu Nath (Non-de-plume *Bulbul*), Secretary Rama Krishna

Library,[21] to start a forceful agitation known as the "Meat Strike" in Srinagar. In view of the unprecedented rise in the price of meat, they gave a call to the people of Srinagar to boycott its purchase.[22]

The most striking feature of this movement was that the activists of both Hindu and Muslim organisations, such as S.D. Sabha, Khilafat Committee, Ahmediya Sect, Rama Krishna Library and Arya Samaj came together on the same platform.

Almost simultaneously, in Jammu the students of Prince of Wales College, on the call of Mahatama Gandhi and Lala Lajpat Rai, boycotted the classes and took part in various programmes organised at Gujaranwala in connection with the Non-Cooperation Movement. The moving spirit behind these students was, however, Prof. Daulat Ram and two students, namely, Baldev Singh and Ishwar Dass. No doubt, their activities proved to be a phenomenal event, yet these definitely helped in imbibing a sense of national responsibility in the outlook of youngmen.[23]

It is obvious from the above account that at the head of various activities till now stood men from among the middle class intelligentsia of both Hindus and Muslims. They included teachers, officials, students and businessmen. The traditional leaders were conspicuous by their absence. They neither supported nor opposed but kept aloof throughout the course of events. No doubt, this unique phenomenon was confined to urban areas, and that too to two major cities of Srinagar and Jammu, yet it definitely strengthened those forces which united the people of this State to live in peaceful co-existence.

As a result of the atmosphere which prevailed during 1920-22, the leaders of various ethnical groups made it a common cause to jointly demand representation in the executive council and other representative bodies proposed to be established in the State. Thus, on 2nd May, 1921, representatives of all the communities submitted a memorandum to the Maharaja, saying, "We beg to state that all the Ministers at present are

outsiders, neither the Chief Minister nor the other Ministers belong to the State or to any of the communities forming the population of the State.... Regarding the constitution of Legislative Assembly, we pray that the public should be taken into confidence and representative men should be consulted before fixing the details of the constitution of the Assembly. The interests of the various communities, classes and sections of the State should be adequately represented and to that end methods of nomination and election so utilized as to ensure a fair distribution of the right of representation. We also pray that Municipalities and District Boards should be formed where possible in the State."[24]

It was for the first time that a joint representation was made by the leaders of all the communities to achieve common political objective, i.e., to oust the outsiders from the State services. But unfortunately, this proved to be a temporary phase and shortly after, when the Congress and the *Khilafats* parted ways, the leaders of the State resumed beating their drums from sectarian forums.

(b) Communal Leaders

The post 1922 period, as remarked above, is important for the emergence of communal leadership. By 1922, the political alliance between the Congress and the Khilafats had broken and with this division among the all India leaders, old communal differences began to reassert among the masses also.[25] On July 24, 1923, peace with Turkey was signed and allied troops were withdrawn from Turkey. Finally, by the decree of Angora Assembly, passed in early 1924, the office of *Khalifa* was abolished. The rank and file of the two parties in India, who in the first enthusiasm of the *Khilafat* movement had worked together, found no common cause thereafter. Neither could they save the *Khalifa* nor achieve *Swaraj*. Their thoughts penetrated to their consciousness and produced a sense of betrayal.[26] Consequently, old communal quarrels revived and inflamed the people to a degree unknown in Indian history.[27]

These developments on the Indian scene had their impact in the State also. The moment the *Khilafat* leaders of Punjab realised that the objective for which they had organised themselves was no longer there, they devoted their attention to local issues, especially to the alleged plight of Kashmiris. The All India Muslim Kashmiri Conference and the Ahmediyas of Punjab plunged head-long in Kashmir politics. The Muslim press of Punjab fully supported them by their inflammatory writings. As a result, soon an anti-Hindu and anti-Government atmosphere was generated in the State, which ultimately led to a number of Hindu-Muslim disputes and other communal agitations.

Likewise, the Hindu leaders of Arya Samaj and Hindu Mahasabha stepped up their activities with greater vigour and enthusiasm. In 1923, they wholeheartedly devoted their attention towards the proselytising work through the Shudhi Sabha.[28]

In Jammu and Kashmir, as already said, these activities of the Arya Samaj created a fear psyche in the minds of the Muslims. Consequently, their traditional leaders gave a call to all the Kashmiri Muslims to unite in the face of the new threat to their religion. The *Mirwaiz* of the Jama Masjid in Srinagar, therefore, asked the Muslims "to unite on the plea that the Arya Samajists were making preparations to visit Kashmir".[29]

Simultaneously, purely secular issues began to be given religious colour. Reservations in Government services for the Muslims were demanded. Thus, a representation was submitted to the Maharaja by a number of Kashmiri Muslims, demanding that a proportional number of posts should be reserved for their community in different departments and also in the representative bodies which might be brought into existence in future.[30] Obviously, by this time the Muslim leaders had adopted a communal attitude towards politico-economic issues. This development, backed by the fanatic Muslim elements of Punjab, greatly stirred the minds of the Muslim middle class

in the State because it was this class which stood to gain much if their demands were conceded.

In 1924, the Srinagar Silk Factory disturbances broke out. The issues involved were of purely administrative nature but once again the communal elements succeeded in giving the agitation an anti-Hindu and anti-Government colour. The propaganda unleashed by them was so vigorous and the rumours spread by the interested elements so strong that it seemed as if the Muslims of Kashmir were being persecuted by the Government with a heavy hand.[31]

It was in this atmosphere, when the communal passions were highly aroused, that Hindus and Muslims fell out with each other on some other issues also. Thus, in August 1923, the Hindu Bohras and Muslims of Baramula quarrelled over the possession of a site near a Hindu temple. The next year, in the same month, again, another Hindu-Muslim dispute arose in Srinagar due to the alleged sacrilege of the Sri Mahakali Devi shrine by Muslims and Khanqah Mullah shrine by the Hindus. The Hindus and Muslims of Anantnag also quarrelled over the ownership of a piece of land adjoining the city spring.

A point of great significance in respect of these disturbances is that the traditional leadership of the Muslims in Kashmir refused to be involved on the side of the activists. Instead of taking to a course of direct confrontation with the authorities, they attempted to take up their community's case through representations and memorandums.

The lack of a united front by the Muslims of Kashmir to various problems was attributed by the new leadership to divisions among themselves. So, the latter attempted first to foster unity among all the Muslims. Accordingly, in 1923, the Shias and Sunnis of Srinagar buried their age old differences over the Moharrum issue and reached an understanding to celebrate it jointly and peacefully. Perhaps, it was for the first time in the history of Shia-Sunni communities in the State that they resolved an issue which had led to bitter communal riots in the past.[32]

The Sunni Muslims of Srinagar owed their allegiance to a number of religious heads. The most powerful among them was a member of the House of *Mirwaiz*. His family had the sole right of preaching in various historical mosques in the city. But in the first quarter of the 20th century, differences cropped up among its members. Their two sections, the junior one, represented by *Mirwaiz* Ahmed Ullah Hamdani, and the senior one, represented by *Mirwaiz* Mohammad Yusuf Shah, disputed each other's claim to preach in different mosques in Srinagar.[33] In order to remove the danger of breach of peace between the two parties, an agreement between them was arranged by Ch. Khushi Mohammad, the Governor of Kashmir. Accordingly, each *Mirwaiz* was allotted a number of mosques in which he alone could preach.[34] But this agreement was not implemented faithfully by both the parties, with the result that they continued to quarrel till 1931, when S.M. Abdullah, a young Kashmiri Muslim, rose to prominence during the Muslim agitation of 1931, and supported Mirwaiz Hamdani.

Mirwaiz Yusuf Shah, being a staunch Sunni, never wanted that a pro-Ahmediya like S.M. Abdullah should take over the leadership of Kashmiri Muslims, which was with his family till now. Moreover, in the presence of senior *Mirwaiz*, it was not possible for Abdullah to establish himself as a sole leader of the Muslims of Kashmir. Thus, their interest lay in the parting of ways and not in joining hands. S.M. Abdullah supported by Mirwaiz Hamdani, then spearheaded a communal-political agitation against the State Government. *Mirwaiz* Yusuf Shah strived hard to oppose this agitation by branding Abdullah a heretic as the latter was a follower of the Ahmediya *Khalifa*.[35]

Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was born on 15th December, 1905, in a village near Srinagar. His father was a Pashmina Merchant. After passing his F.Sc. from Sri Pratap College, Srinagar, in 1924, he tried to seek admission in Prince of Wales College, Jammu. But the college authorities refused him admission on the ground that the required number of seats

had already been filled up. Possibly, one student was admitted after this event. This incident had a far-reaching effect on the mind of young Abdullah. In disgust, he proceeded to Lahore and sought admission in the Islamia College, with the help of some Muslim elements, who were striving all the time to secure a foothold in Kashmir. After doing his graduation in 1928, he went to Aligarh and obtained from there his M.Sc. degree in 1930. It was also there that he had his political schooling. According to one authority, when the *Sheikh* returned from Aligarh, he had with him a plan for an agitation against the State Government.[36] But soon after his return, in November 1930, he was appointed as a teacher in Srinagar.[37] Here, along with some other young and educated Muslims, he started a Reading Room, an organisation which secretly imparted political schooling to the young educated Muslims.

In a very short time, S.M. Abdullah became the principal spokesman of the Reading Room party. The incident of 13th July, 1931, in which a number of Kashmiri Muslim agitators were killed in the police firing in Srinagar, provided him with a further opportunity to establish himself as an undisputed leader of the Muslims of Kashmir.

Another important personality who played an important role during this period was Saad-ud-Din Shawl. He had been involved in the Muslim affairs of Kashmir since Maharaja Pratap Singh's time. It was mainly through his efforts in 1924 that the Shias and Sunnis closed their differences over the Moharrum issue. He was also the brain behind the move to submit a petition to Lord Reading, the Viceroy of India, alleging discrimination against the Muslims by the State Government. Later, he was externed from the State territories, when the committee appointed to enquire into the charges found the allegations baseless. He was also deprived of his Jagir which he held from the State Government.[38] It was only in 1927 that Maharaja Hari Singh allowed him to return to the State. He played a prominent role in the Muslim agitation of 1931 also and was one of the members of the deputation which submitted a memorandum to the Maharaja on 15th August, 1931.[39]

Khawaja Ghulam Ahmed Ashai, another Muslim leader of Kashmir, was an Assistant Inspector of Muslim Education before he joined the Muslim politics in 1931. He had been dismissed by the Government on complaints of corruption.[40] After the establishment of Reading Room party, he represented its aggressive section known as the Muslim Youngmen's Association.

Sayed Hussain Shah Jalali, a Shia Muslim leader, came into prominence in 1924 when the question of taking out the Moharrum procession during the day time was being settled. He belonged to the Firqa-i-Qadim organisation of the Muslims, which tried to take out the Duldul procession in Srinagar in violation of the Government orders.

Another Muslim who got the opportunity to rise to prominence during the 1931 agitation was Ghulam Mohammad, a youth working as a salesman in a local shop. He was believed to be a follower of the Ahmediya *Khalifa*. He was appointed as 'Dictator' to lead the Muslim agitation in Kashmir when S.M. Abdullah was arrested by the police.[41]

In Jammu, one of the Muslim leaders who came to surface during the 1931 agitation was *Chaudhri* Ghulam Abbas.[42] He was the founder member of the Youngmen's Muslim Association here. Being a law graduate, he was able to assert himself as the most influential of all of his fellow leaders. It was due to his strong position that he was nominated as the only Muslim member from Jammu to represent the case of Jammu Muslims to the Glancy Commission. And when, in 1932, the Muslims of the State founded All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Kashmiri Conference, he became its General Secretary. According to S.M. Abdullah, he represented the left wing of the said party.[43]

Gauhar Rehman, another Muslim leader of Jammu, was a man of doubtful antecedents.[44] He was a forest ranger and had been dismissed for certain irregularities. He was another founder member of the Youngmen's Muslim Association of

Jammu. During the 1931 agitation, he started a civil-disobedience and non-payment of taxes movement in the Mirpur *tehsil*, which ultimately led to communal rioting in that area.[45]

Alla Rakha Sagar was also an office bearer of the Youngmen's Muslim Association of Jammu. He was responsible for the launching of Civil-Disobedience Movement in Jammu and selling of the proscribed literature to the people.[46] Both he and Gauhar Rehman had leanings towards the Ahrar party.

Besides them, there were Yaqub Ali and Ghulam Qadir. Both of them were of ordinary position and associated with the Youngmen's Muslim Association.[47]

Thus, we see that the year 1931 brought to the forefront new leadership in the modern sense among the Muslim masses. Almost all the new leaders belonged either to the middle or lower middle class. A number of them, particularly those who came to be more influential, were educated and had been exposed to modern education and thought. But, it seems, that contemporary communal politics of Indian sub-continent had greater impact on their thinking. Their primary objective was to secure more privileges for their co-religionists, and they followed the path of agitation and non-cooperation to secure this aim. This was a major deviation from the old practice according to which the leaders used to pursue their cause through petitions and cooperation with the State Government. Though the new leadership also worked for secular objectives, yet their policy of using the 'Islamic slogans' as a weapon to beat the Hindu Maharaja came to dub them as communal leaders. Their alliance with the communal elements of Punjab further strengthened this thinking.

References

1. The Rajas of Poonch were the cousions of Jammu royal famly and the Jagirdars of Cheneni had matrimonial relations with them. Similarly, one of the princesses of Jammu was married at Ramkot.
2. On ascending the throne of Jammu and Kashmir, Maharaja Golab Singh restored about 300 Jagirdards, majority of whom were Muslims.

   Resident at Lahore to Secretary to the Govt. of India with G. General, Foreign-Pol., Progs. No. 166-168, Cons. Sc., 30th January, 1847.
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4. Kaye, J. L., *Note on the Assessment Report of the Mirpur Tehsil*, Lahore, 1901, p. 18.
5. Dogra, Sant Ram, *op. cit.*, pp. 3, 4.
6. *Agent, G. General for Punjab and N.W. Frontier to Offi. Secretary to the Covt. of India*, 25th August, 1840, Foreign-Pol., F. No. 126, 127, 129, Cons. S.C., 1st March, 1841.
7. *Census of India, 1911*, Vol. XX, Kashmir, Part-I, Report, Lucknow, 1912, p. 211.
8. *Census of India, 1911*, Vol. XX, Kashmir, Part-I, Report, Lucknow, 1912, p. 211.
9. *Ibid.*
10. They settled in Punjab under British compulsion so as to allow Golab Singh a free hand, Saraf Mohd. Yusuf, *op. cit.*, p. 229.
11. They were Raja Lal Dev of Jasrota, Raja Kalyanpal of Bahsoli, Raja Avtar Singh of Bhadoo, Raja Chattar Singh of Ramkot, Jagirdars of Sumbarta. In 1847, part of Pathankot and Sujanpur was transferred to the British in lieu of pension of rupees 60,000 that Golab Singh agreed to pay to these deposed Rajas. See Agent, to G. General N.W. Frontier to Secy. to Govt. of India, 3rd August, 1847, Foreign (Sec.), Progs. No. 220, Sept., 1847.

12. *Resident at Lahore to Secretary to Govt. of India with Governor General*, 16th Jan., 1847, Foreign-Pol., Progs. No. 166-168, Cons. S.C., 30th Jan., 1847.
13. Panikar, K.M., *Founding of Jammu and Kashmir State*, London, 1953, p. 136.
14. Sawhney, Fateh Chand, *Assessment Report of Rampur-Rajouri Tehsil*, Allahabad, 1906, p. 9.
15. Rivett, H.L., *Assessment Report of Mian Jagir villages*, Lahore, 1847, pp. 4-6.
16. *His Highness Order*, Dt. n.g., Pol., F. No. 164, 1906.
17. These books were *Muhibban Vatan* (Patriots), *Swanch aur Karname* (Events and Deeds by Dr. Ishwari Prasad), *Swadeshi Urf Ganginai Hub-ul-Vatani* (Swadeshi poems or treasure of Patriotism by Bakshee Ram), *Bande Matram, Arya Musafir; Novel Inquilab Bharat Mitter* (A novel of revolution, the friend of Bharat), *Akhbar Hindustan, European Tehzib Ki Durgat* (Disgrace of the European civilization. See *First Asstt. to the Resident in Kashmir, to Deputy Director General Intelligence, Simla*, 28th June, 1909, Foreign-Pol., Progs No. 6-7, Secret-I, Oct., 1909.
18. *Raja Daljit Singh to Government of India*, 27th July, 1920, Pol., F. No. 209/45-C, 1920.
19. *Inspector, C.I.D., Srinagar, to I.G. Police, Jammu and Kashmir*, 16th July, 1920. *Ibid.*
20. *Fortnightly Report, 4th Sept., 1921*, Foreign-Pol., Deposit, Internal Secret, Progs. No. 23, January, 1922, Crown Representative Papers, Microfilm, Acc. No. 294.
21. *Inspector, C.I.D., Srinagar, to I.G. Police*, 19th July, 1920, Pol., F. No. 209/45-C, 1920. *Ibid.*
22. The leaders who were on the forefront of this movement were Pandit Sona Joo, Pleader; Qamar-ud-din, Manager Reading Room Agency, Abdal Hai, Secretary Daily News Agency (young boy); Dr. Sri Krishan of Fateh Kadal; Pt. Jia Lal Kilam, B.A., L.L.B.; Pt. Madhu

Sudan Kaul, B.A., LL.B.; Pt. Satya Lal, B.A. LL.B.; Mohamad Ayub of Ahmediya Sect; Qamar-ud-din, Pleader; Pirzada Mohy-ud-din Qurashi of Pather Masjid; Pt. Shanker, Headmaster, Mission High School; Pt. Jia Lal, Tarwal; Dina Nath; Gulam Hussain, Member, Newspaper Reading Room Agency; Sansar Chand of Customs Deptt.; Sona Joo Begal; Sham Lal; Channa Koul; Ghulam Mohamad; Shiva Kaul, Pleader; Maulvi Mohamad Yusuf Shah; S. Budh Singh, Tehsildar Settlement, Kashmir State; Lala Hans Raj, Pleader of Jammu; Hari Ram Haq; Maulvi Ullah Shah; Damodar Damura, student; Kanth Ram, Drill Master, Mission School; Pt. Krishan Joo, Jotshi of Maharaja; Sarwa Nand, Proprietor of Punjab Stores; Aziz-ud-din, Teacher, Islamia School, Amir Kadal; Khawaja Amir-ud-Din, Teacher, Islamia High School. They all belong to middle class and majority of them were exposed to modern education and thought.

23. Sh. Mulk Raj Saraf who was one of these students, who participapated in non-cooperation movement, took out a weekly '*Ranbir*' in 1925, which was banned in 1930 by the State Government for its pro-national movement writings. See Fortnightly Report. 20th May, 1930, Foreign-Pol., F. No. 22, 1930, Crown Representative Papers, Microfilm, Acc. No. 291.

24. *People of various communities to His Highness*, 2nd May, 1921, General, F. No. 932/Misc. 190, 1922.

25. *Report on communal riots*, Foreign-Pol., Special, F. No. 4/27, 1927.

26. *Ibid.*

27. *Ibid.*

28. Though the *Shudhi* Movement (proslytising work) was of much earlier origin than 1923, yet its application on mass scale gave it a special prominence at this time. Within short span of time, it could claim about 20000 conversions in Agra and the neighbourhood (*Report on communal riots*, Foreign-Pol., Special, F. No. 4/27, 1927); Also *Chief Secretary to the Govt. of United Provinces to Secretary to the Govt. of India*, 2nd Jan., 1925, Home-Pol., F. No. 206, 1926.

29. *Secretary to Foreign Member of Council, to His Highness*, 10th Sept., 1923, General, F. No. 740/p-12, 1924.

30. *Jammu and Kashmir State Council, Progs.*, 19th Jan., 1924, General, F. No. 1609/E 84, 1923.

31. *All India Muslim Kashmiri Conference, Resolution*, 13th August, 1924, Muslims of Simla, Resolution, 10th August, 1924, General, F. No. 78/A/6-C, 1924.

32. It was before the beginning of Dogra rule that the dispute between the Shias and Sunnis over the Moharrum question had led the authorities to allow the Zulzenah procession to be taken out before the dawn of the day. But now the Muslim leaders both Sunnis and Shias came together and branded it as an anti-Islam act on the part of the State Government. See *Muslim leaders of Kashmir, to Maharaja in Council*, 18th Aug., 1924, General, F. No. 94/57-G, 1924.

33. *Home Minister to Chief Minister*, 22nd Dec., 1920, Pol., F. No. 212/41-C, 1920.

34. *Kashmir Government Communique*, 2nd June, 1933, Foreign-Pol., S. No. 1-79, F. No. 257-P (Secret), 1933, Crown Representative Papers, Microfilm, Acc. No. 288.

35. *Islam*, Srinagar (Urdu), 29th July, 20th Sept., 4th Oct., 25th Oct., 18th Nov., 19th Dec., 1933, Foreign-Pol., F. No. 257-P (Sec), 1933.

36. Saraf, Mohammad Yusuf, *op. cit.*, pp. 354-55.

37. *Resident in Kashmir, to Political Secretary to Govt. of India*, 8th June, 1933, Foreign-Pol.. 257-P (Secret), 1933, NAI.

38. *Resident in Kashmir, Memorandum*, 28th Sept., 1931, Foreign-Pol., F. No. 423-P (Secret), Part-I, 1931.

39. *The Indian Nation*, Patna, August 18, 1931.

40. *Amrit Bazar Patrika*, Calcutta, August 23, 1931; Also Resident in Kashmir, Memorandum, 28th Sept., 1931, Foreign-Pol., F. No. 423-P (Sec), Part-I, 1931.

41. *Resident in Kashmir, Memorandum*, 28th Sept., 1931, Foreign-Pol., F. No. 423-P (Sec), Part-I, 1931.

42. *E.M. Jenkins, Officer on Special Duty, Jammu, Report on Jammu disturbances of November, 1931*, 14th Feb., 1932, Foreign-Pol., F.

No. 154-P (Sec), 1932, Crown Representative Papers, Microfilm, Acc. No. 287.

43. *S.M. Abdullah to B.J. Glancy, Pol. Secretary*, 14th May, 1934, Foreign-Pol., F. No. 9, 1934, Crown Representative Papers, Microfilm, Acc. No. 288.

44. *E.M. Jenkins, Officer on Special Duty, Jammu to Deputy Secretary Govt. of India*, 24th Nov., 1931, Foreign-Pol., F. No. 645-P (Sec). 1931, Crown Representative Papers, Microfilm, Acc. No. 292.

45. *B. Lawther, I.G.P., Jammu and Kashmir, Report on Mirpur disturbances*, 23rd January, 1932, Foreign-Pol., F. No. 100-P-32, 1932, Crown Representative Papers, Microfilm, Acc. No. 289.

46. *E.M. Jenkins, Officer on Special Duty, Report on Jammu disturbances of November, 1931*, 14th January, 1932, Foreign-Pol., F. No. 154-P (Sec), 1932, Crown Representative Papers, Microfilm, Acc. No. 287.

47. *Ibid.*

8

Government Attitude— Educational and Employment Policy

The question that a particular government cannot be totally objective is as relevant as the fact that a historian, whosoever he is, is bound to be influenced by various factors, His socio-economic background, his religion and, moreover. his relative position with the history he is writing, is sure to influence his writing. It is just impossible for him to severe relations with the background in which he is brought up. He is not a computer. Being human and possessing a complex matter, named mind, he is prone to outside effects. But as E.H. Carr, a great Historiographer puts it, an objective Historian is he who is always conscious about these limitations and tries to be impartial while he is writing. Similarly, a Government and its bureaucratic infrastructure is also exposed to certain similar influences. The difference is only in time, place and degree of influence. An objective Government is that which works for the welfare of the people, little caring for narrow considerations of caste or creed. Only when we take these limitations into consideration, can we do justice with the subject and also achieve that minimum level of being an objective scholar and also reader, which E.H. Carr has set for an objective historian.

In Jammu and Kashmir about 76 per cent of the people belonged to Muslim community.[1] The Anglo-Dogra Treaty of March 1846 of Amritsar, brought them under the suzerainty of a ruling authority which belonged to a different community i.e., Hindu, which was also numerically less important. As in the rest of India, so also in this State the traditional differences had always placed atleast elites of both the communities at war ends. This factor proved to be a great stumbling block in their inter-relations. A feeling of mutual suspicion often affected their social intercourse. The differences were, more or less, exploited by the vested interests in both the communities. Consequently, even honest efforts on the part of an individual, community or a ruler belonging to a particular community were not accepted without suspicion. And the case of Jammu and Kashmir was not different. A vast majority of its subjects, as already said, were Muslims, but its rulers were Hindus, and the above mentioned influences had their impact on their relations. Even the historians who have written about these have not escaped the said influences.

Now the question arises, whether the Dogra kings were really oppressors, whether their policies were influenced by their anti-Muslim bias, as alleged by the majority of the Muslim leaders of 20th century. If they were not, then up to what extent did they rule with objectivity and really work for the welfare of the communities other than Hindus. These and some other related questions, such as, the limitations of the Dogra administration which came in the way of their objectivity, are proposed to be discussed here.

The repressive policies of the Dogra predecessors towards the people belonging to the religions other than their own had naturally created a fear psyche in the Muslim community about the possible attitude of the new ruling authority, in the beginning. Maharaja Golab Singh's compulsion, at the commencement of his rule, to suppress his opponents (Hindus and Muslims), with a heavy hand, further strengthened their apprehensions. But the benevolent attitude of his successors

went a long way in clearing their doubts Consequently, a congenial atmosphere was created in the State, which gave birth to communal amity on the whole for at least 90 years i.e., till 1930.

A. EDUCATION POLICY

To judge the attitude of the Government critically, let us first of all see what it did in the field of education, because much of the tension among the majority community of the Muslims was created, first, owing to the alleged lack of adequate educational facilities for them, and secondly, lack of employment avenues for their educated youngmen.

Maharaja Golab Singh, the founder of Dogra rule, could pay little attention towards the educational advancement of his people. No doubt, in the initial years of his rule, he was preoccupied in consolidating his position[2], but the fact remains that he seemed little aware of the utility of the education. The age in which he lived attached little importance to the learning of three R's (Reading, Writing and Arithmetic). That is why Golab Singh himself was not acquainted with letters, though he belonged to an aristocratic family.

The imparting of education was the headache of either the priestly class or those who were engaged in the professions which required bookish knowledge. When the demand of the state administration for literate men could not be fulfilled by these agencies[3], the deficiency was met by inviting them from the Punjab or elsewhere in India.

The position was not much different in British India. The British also, who are considered as the pioneers of Western education in India, had done very little by this time. Thus, in 1855, there were only 1474 educational institutions, managed, aided or recognised by the British Government, and only 67569 students out of a population of 200 millions were receiving education there.[4]

It was during Maharaja Ranbir Singh's reign (1857-85) that the State Government first paid attention in the real sense

towards education.[5] According to Dermot Norris, "Ranbir Singh was a great admirer of European methods and institutions. He made several efforts to introduce reforms in the shape of State dispensaries and primary education after European model".[6] He founded regular educational institutions.[7] The first State school is said to have started in 1868, in which instructions in Arabic were given.[8] The State Government also provided aid to the Arabic school run by the Christian missionaries in Kashmir.[9]

According to the State Administration Report, entitled, "Report-i-Majmui 1872-1873", there were 44 schools in the State in which 1533 students received education. Out of these 31 schools were in Jammu province and 13 in Kashmir. The different subjects taught there included, grammar, logic, rhetoric, physics, astronomy, arithmetic, Arabic, Persian, Dogri, Sanskrit, English etc.[10]

Although English was also taught, yet the number of English learning scholars was much less. At that time, the State people hardly felt any need of the English education. Persian was still the official language and Western influence was yet to penetrate. The Government had made separate arrangements for the education of Hindus and Muslims in Sanskrit and Arabic respectively. The students were provided with books, food and clothes. Teachers received regular salaries from the Government.[11] When the Panjab University was established in 1882, education according to its syllabus was introduced in the State as well

Systematic headway in education in the State was planned in 1889, when the reorganisation of the State administration was undertaken by the Government A survey was then made and the students were classified according to their religion.[12] It was then found that the students on rolls represented only 0.76 per cent of the school going age of the total male population. Further, the Administration Report of the State for the year 1892-93 noted, "while no doubt the value of educational institution is highly appreciated by the Hindu community, it

is very much regretted that Mian Rajputs and Mohammadans as a class are still indifferent, notoriously the latter whose number is only 845 against 3369 Hindus in the State".[13] It, thus, came to the notice of the Government that the educationally backward communities were the Muslims, who formed the majority of the population, and the Rajputs who were politically an important class.

Consequently, during the year 1892-93, eight new schools were opened in Jammu and sixteen in Kashmir. Thirteen branch schools were also upgraded to the status of High schools in Srinagar.[14] Obviously, the State Government had then put Kashmir Province, a predominantly Muslim, but educationally backward, on its priority list. Thus, by 1893-94, the Kashmir Province with 35 schools stood ahead of Jammu where there were only 28 schools.[15] But there was one difference, whereas in the Jammu Province, these institutions were scattered over various towns, in Kashmir they were concentrated in the Srinagar city.[16] Naturally, the schools in Kashmir provided more opportunities to the Hindus especially the Kashmiri Pandits, majority of whom were residing in Srinagar, and who were also comparatively more eager to make use of the educational facilities. The Muslims, on the contrary, were incapable of exploiting the available facilities. They were also still suffering from the dilemma of going in or not for the new education.[17] Even in Srinagar city, a predominantly Muslim area, another fact worthy of our notice is that out of a total of 64 schools, 41 were opened in the Muslim majority area.

It was not till 1896-97 that the State Government chose the particular community of Rajputs to provide them with special educational facilities like stipends in order to encourage them to take to education.[18]

Later, the Government initiated the policy of giving grant-in-aid facilities to a number of private educational institutions run by various religious and non-religious agencies. But, in 1903, it laid down the condition that only those institutions would receive the aid which employed trained teachers. The

Islamia School of Srinagar, which was receiving Rs. 600 per annum as the State grant-in-aid, however, failed to fulfil this condition and was likely to lose it.[19] But Raja Amar Singh, the State Chief Minister, proposed the concession in favour of the school, saying, "It is undesirable that Mohammedans form the majority of His Highness's subjects in Kashmir. Any institution like this which has the propagation of learning among them in view, must, therefore, receive encouragement from Darbar and anything likely to create unfavourable impression on the public as to the attitude of the Darbar should, until such time as may permit of the expansion on the institution on proper lines be carefully avoided. While admitting this the intention of the Darbar in the sanction of grant-in-aid, I am inclined to think that for the present the condition regarding the engagement of qualified staff by the Islamia school might be advisably dropped."[20] Hence, the Islamia school not only continued to receive the aid, but also the same was raised from Rs. 600 to Rs. 2400 per annum when this school was upgraded to the Entrance Standard.[21]

In 1901, the State Council put the amount released by way of punishment awarded in the cow-killing cases at the disposal of the member in charge of education and ordered that the amount be spent on the charitable grants to the poor and needy students, irrespective of their caste and creed, in the shape of supply of charcoal, blankets etc.[22]

As a result of the State patronage and also due to the private efforts, the total number of educational institutions increased to 297 in 1903. Out of these 140 were maintained by the State with 6642 students, two were aided schools imparting education to 437 students and 10 were unaided, having 1495 students on roll. The remaining were private institutions which were providing educational facilities to 2729 students.[23]

In 1889-90, there were only 144 Muslim students out of the total of 836. But their number rose to 1357 in 1899-1900, when the total number of students were 6043. The number of

Hindu students, on the other hand, increased from 644 to 4574.[24] Obviously, the Muslims remained much behind the Hindus in reaping the educational benefits provided by the Government.

It was from the very beginning that State Government made no distinction in grant-in-aid or in providing admissions to various institutions run by the State. It wanted that all the aided educational institutions should be open to all students, irrespective of their caste or creed.

In 1900-1901, the Central Hindu College of Banaras had opened a school in Srinagar, "in which Hindu religion and morality were taught to the boys as an essential part of their education".[25] In 1906, Mrs. Annie Besant, President of the Central Hindu College sought from the State Government financial help for the opening of a college in Srinagar to be named as Pratap Singh Hindu College. The Maharaja accepted the proposal to grant Rs. 1000 per month for the college and Rs. 300 per month for the school, besides the grant of Rs. 200 already sanctioned, but, "on the understanding that both shall remain open to all classes of my subjects of whatever creed and the State shall be adequately represented on the governing body of the College".[26]

By 1911, a scheme for providing special scholarships to Muslim students had been introduced by the State Government.[27] This was done to encourage the poor among them to continue their studies. Moreover, the Muslim schools were liberally aided by the Government. Rs. 400 per month were thus sanctioned to the Khanqah school of Srinagar.

To encourage the Muslims further to take to education, their co-religionists were appointed on important posts in the educational department. Thus, in 1911, the Chief Inspector of Education, Jammu Province, was a Muslim. Similarly, the post of Inspector for Primary Education in Kashmir also came to be occupied by a Muslim. Furthermore, the State Government decided to open a technical school in Srinagar, "with the

avowed object of imparting technical training among Kashmiris especially Mohammadans who do not avail much of the facilities of literary education".[28]

Another remarkable feature of this year was the introduction of religious education as a subject of the school syllabi.[29] This was done to attract the orthodox among the uneducated, more especially among the Muslims, to education and also to strengthen its base and create a feeling of idealism among the people. Now, the students of different communities began to assemble in separate groups, where they were taught about their religion and ethics of life.[30]

Another measure of the Government was the appointment of Muslim Mullas in those schools where Muslims predominated. Moreover, in the employment of teachers, preference was given to Muslim candidates over those equally qualified from other communities.[31] Still, when the Government found that qualified Muslim candidates were not forthcoming to seek employment as teachers, it often relaxed qualifications in their case.[32] Moreover, the Government oftenly "approached Muslim organisations and the Headmaster of Islamia school frequently to nominate men for teachership in primary schools."[33] In 1912-13, Arabic as a subject was introduced in selected number of elementary schools.

In consequence of all these measures, the percentage of Muslim scholars increased rapidly. In 1911-12, there were 7270 Muslim scholars but their number rose to 11302 in 1912-13.[34] By 1914-15, the strength of Muslim scholars exceeded that of the Hindu ones.[35]

In order to keep a close liaison between the State Government and Anjuman-i-Islamia, Srinagar, a Muslim organisation working for the promotion of Muslim education, the State Ministers began to attend its meetings. While expressing their gratitude, a deputation of All India Mohammadan Education Conference said, "We beg to offer our sincere thanks to your Highness for the support which has so far been extended to

this Central Anjuman at Srinagar. Your Ministers have been attending its annual meetings and its High School is securing a grant from the State".[36]

In 1913, there were only two Colleges in the State, one each at Srinagar and Jammu. As regards high schools, 3 were in Jammu Province and two in Kashmir. Almost all the important towns of both the provinces were provided with middle schools. Out of the total of 257 primary schools, 135 and 122 were in Kashmir and Jammu Provinces respectively. In the Kashmir Province, out of the total of 6562 students, 3388 were Muslims.[37] These figures clearly reveal that the Muslims were slowly and gradually appreciating the necessity of education and receiving it.

If we compare the extent of spread of education in Jammu and Kashmir at this stage with that in the other princely states, we see that though this State had more handicaps, yet it was not far behind those which were comparatively in a better position. Thus, while in Hyderabad, there were only 3 per cent literates, this State returned 2 per cent people who could read and write. The percentage for Bhawalpur was 2.1 and for Mysore 6.[38]

It should be borne in mind that Jammu and Kashmir was situated at the extreme north and virtually cut off from the rest of India till the end of 19th century, owing to its mountaneous nature. Moreover, its overwhelming population belonged to the community (Muslims) which was little inclined towards education. On the contrary, all the above mentioned states were situated in the easily accessible areas and that too surrounded by British Provinces, educationally more advanced. Again majority of these states were predominantly Hindu, a community that showed keen interest in education.

Many orthodox Muslim teachers were unwilling to go for training in Normal School at Srinagar for want of boarding facilities according to their requirements. Hence, a separate cook and a khidmatgar were specially appointed for their

convenience in the school. Like other trainees, they were also given a stipend of Rs. 10 per month.[39]

In 1914, a post of Inspector for Muslim Education was sanctioned.[40] He was to be invariably a Muslim and assigned the job of selecting proper teachers from among the Muslims and also to suggest necessary measures for the advancement of education among the Muslim community. He was also to supervise the training of Mullas working in different primary schools.[41]

In order to put the training programme on sound footing, the Normal School at Sopore was transferred to Srinagar, the premier city of the State. In its place at Sopore, a special class was started to train Mullas.[42] They were provided with a hostel, and also given stipends from the State exchequer.[43]

For the training of Mullas, another school was opened at Anantnag in 1919-20, with hostel facilities. As a result of these efforts of the Government, the strength of the Muslim trainees increased by 50 per cent by this year.[44]

Likewise, a number of Muslim teachers were deputed to Aligarh Muslim University and Banaras Hindu University for B.T. and L.T. degrees respectively.[45]

In 1915, the State Government appointed H. Sharp as chairman of the Education Commission to suggest measures for further improvement and expansion of the existing system of education. The various schools he inspected had, in all, 437 teachers, out of which 112 were Muslims. According to him, Muslim representation in Secondary Schools was 24.7 per cent and in the primary schools, 29.8 per cent. But the overall percentage in all the schools was about 40.[46] He further records that utmost freedom of religious exercises was accorded to the Muslims in the State schools and all facilities were provided for the conduct of prayers and instructions at the commencement of the day's work.[47]

During the years which followed, the amount of scholarships awarded to the Muslim students went on increasing gradually.[48] By 1923, it came up to Rs. 3000 per annum for the Muslim students of Kashmir and Rs. 1000 to those of Jammu.[49] In addition to it, Rs. 10 per mensum was given to a number of Muslim students, who joined State Colleges at Jammu and Srinagar. A provision was also made for four scholarships of Rs. 50 per month to each of those Muslim scholars who went for higher education in Indian Universities.[50]

As said earlier, Rajputs were the other educationally backward community which received special attention of the State Government. The rulers of the State also belonged to this community, and, as such, its members were allegedly considered to form a privileged class. But, they received only Rs. 3200 per annum in the shape of scholarships. And, contrary to Muslims, there was no provision for any other scholarship for them.

The priority which the Muslim education received at the hands of the last two Dogra rulers (Pratap Singh and Hari Singh) is further evident from the fact that from 1918 to the end of the course of our study (1931), almost all the Ministers incharge of education were Muslims. The first among them was Maula Bakhsh who was working in this capacity in 1918.[51] He was followed by A.D. Hakim. It was during his tenure of office that education of Sikhs received special attention.[52] Another Muslim Minister incharge of education, was Sayyed Hussain, who, besides holding the portfolio of Education, was also the Home Minister.[53] A special feature of his tenure was the encouragement to the education of the depressed classes.[54] Zafar Ali was another Muslim Home Minister incharge of education.

It may, therefore, be rightly said that the Dogra kings were partial in their attitude towards the education of the Muslim community. No doubt, the Muslims formed the majority, but there were other backward communities, e.g., the depressed classes and the Sikhs, which also required special attention.

Maharaja Hari Singh realised this fact, with the result that although the educational programme was continued on the same lines as during the previous regime, the cause of education of the depressed classes, Sikhs and females also received special attention at his hands.

The Government opened two special schools, one each at Jammu and Kathua, to provide educational facilities to the depressed classes on priority basis.[55] But this experiment failed, as "they (Depressed class students) do not like to enter the special schools to which stigma of inferiority attaches".[56] Consequently, the Government proposed to give scholarships to deserving students of this weaker section.[57] In 1929, a sum of Rs. 4000 was sanctioned to be given as scholarships to students of Depressed classes.[58] In the very next year, this amount was doubled.[59]

Similarly, "special scholarships were provided for Mohammadan students of Gilgit passing out from Muffassil schools to enable them to obtain middle school education at Gilgit without discomfort or expense".[60] In 1926-27, 10 scholarships of Rs. 5 each were granted to this section of the students.[61] In 1930, the annual amount of Muslim scholarships was raised from Rs. 7200 to Rs. 19400[62], which meant about 170 per cent increase over the previous grant.

It was during the time of Maharaja Pratap Singh i.e., in 1922-23, that Gurumukhi teachers were appointed to attract Sikh students towards education, and teachers of their community were trained in Government schools.[63] In 1930, a proposal was considered to award special scholarships to the Sikh students.[64] As a result of these measures, the number of Sikh scholars also increased considerably.[65]

It shows that the Sikhs were the most lucky community as the number of their students rose hundred fold during the period from 1925 to 1931. The next important community was the Muslims who registered about 92 per cent increase during these years. Although, Hindus also showed an increase (53%), yet it was less than that of other communities.

Finally, if we look at the efforts made by the Government and that too in the absence of modern techniques and its meager financial resources, the Dogra rulers deserve compliments for the spread of education in their territories. They showed objectivity in eradicating illiteracy from all these sections of society which deserved special attention. Their drive for literacy created socio-political consciousness among the masses. The people became aware of their rights. As a result, there emerged a new educated middle class which gave a new turning to the history of the state.

B. EMPLOYMENT POLICY

Bureaucracy is the backbone of any particular Government. It is the infrastructure on which the whole administrative system is based. Under Kingship, the bureaucrats are the instruments which help in consolidating the personnel rule of the ruler. In fact, they are not the public servants, but the personal servants of the ruler. Consequently, the rulers have to be very careful when they recruit their employees.

Their employment policy is governed by various factors. These include loyalty of the candidate to the ruler (in this regard his caste and religion play a major role) and his efficiency and capacity to justify the post. As the kingship is based on the concept of personnel rule of the King, little care is taken of the people's right to employment. There are, however, exceptions when the benevolent rulers provide equal opportunities to all of their subjects, irrespective of their caste and creed.

Let us see what kind of employment policy was followed by the rulers of the Jammu and Kashmir.

Recruitment in Civil Services

It seems that the Dogra rulers were very much influenced by the recruitment policy followed by Maharaja Ranjit Singh of the Panjab. Maharaja Golab Singh, himself, the founder of the Dogra rule in Jammu and Kashmir, rose from an ordinary man

to the position of a King, and owed this rise greatly to the liberal policy of his former master, the Lion of the Panjab. Seeing the fruitful results of this policy in the Panjab, Golab Singh seems to have been tempted to follow it when he himself became the master of the Jammu and Kashmir.

Our information about the ethnical composition of the civil servants, during Maharaja Golab Singh's time is, however, scanty. But, there is no doubt that almost all the communities were represented in his band of officials.

There is also no doubt that Kashmiri Pandits, the traditional bureaucrats, formed the bulk of his officialdom. They manned almost all the departments, right from that of a village Patwari to the Wazir Wazarat and above. They had a complete monopoly over the revenue department. This happened primarily because they were the only class of people, majority of whom could read and write and followed Government service as their sole profession.

Next to them, the Punjabis were also largely engaged in various services.[66] Among them, the Dewan family, which had greatly helped the founder of the State, Golab Singh, in acquiring and consolidating his hold over his territories had the privilege to put forward potential candidates for Dewanship. The Maharaja had a number of Muslims also in his service.[67]

Apart from the officials employed in the State services, there were Jagirdars, who also formed a powerful part of the Dogra bureaucracy, and the Muslims formed the majority group among them. Golab Singh thought it politic not to disturb the existing composition of the traditional political elite. Almost all the legal Jagirdars were restored to their estates, as already said. Moreover, he granted jagirs to some of the Muslim elite who showed extraordinary loyalty during the time when he was consolidating his position in the beginning of his rule.

In Rampur Rajouri illaqa Rajput Muslims were granted Jagirs for their loyal services to him.[68]

Golab Singh's successor, Maharaja Ranbir Singh, is well known for his administrative reforms. He set up three main departments, revenue, civil and military, and their jurisdictions were demarcated.[69] During his time, Kashmiri Pandits formed the bulk of the Government officials.[70] Besides the revenue department, in which they had established their traditional hold since time immemorial, the department of shawl industry also came to be monopolised by them. The Superintendent of the Shawl Department was often a Kashmiri Pandit. The well-known Raja Kak held this office till his death in 1866.[71] He was succeeded by one Bhul Raja, son of Pratap Shah, another Kashmiri Pandit. But he proved incompetent and was removed from the office. After his removal, Pt. Bhadari Nath was appointed to this post.[72] According to an estimate, in 1870-72, there were about 200 Kashmiri Pandits employed as inspectors in the shawl department.[73] In 1877, the Maharaja, in order to reform the shawl industry, put Haji Mukhtar Shah at its head.

During Maharaja Ranbir Singh's time, Bengalis also sought enrolment in the State services in large numbers. Their entry began with Babu Nilamber Mukerjee, who was appointed as the Chief Judge in 1868. His name was recommended by Dewan Kirpa Ram, the Prime Minister of the State.[74] He was a talented man and one of the most distinguished graduates of the Calcutta University and soon became a close confidant of the Maharaja.

In 1871, the Sericulture Industry of Kashmir was taken over by the State Government. Babu Nilamber Mukerjee was made incharge of this infant department also. The fact that this was a new department and expert hands in this field were not available in the State itself, gave an opportunity to the Babu to employ about 22 Bengalis as overseers in the Government filatures. The services of 14 professional silk reelers from Bengal were also utilized to train the natives in this job. Out

of the 166 native reelers thus trained in 1871-72, 150 were Kashmiris and 16 Baltis, most probably all Muslims.

Thus, we see that with the appointment of Babu Nilamber Mukerjee, the Bengali influence in State civil services greatly increased. It became an eyesore to his fellow officials, mostly Punjabis and Kashmiri Pandits. Disgusted with their secret opposition, he submitted his resignation. But Maharaja Ranbir Singh was not willing to part with such an efficient official and, in appreciation of his services, promoted him to the rank of a Minister.

Another change in the ethnical composition of officials of the State came about when, during the Famine of 1877, the Maharaja constituted a committee of officials and non-officials to look after the supply arrangements in the Srinagar city. Out of 13 nominated members, two were Europeans and 7 Kashmiris. Most distinguished among them included Babu Nilamber Mukerjee, Sayyid Wazir Ali, Dewan-i-Mal, Nawab Mardan Ali Akha Khan and Dr. Gopal Chand.[75]

To look after the civil administration Maharaja Ranbir Singh constituted a Council of Ministers. Besides Dewan Anant Ram, the Prime Minister, the other Ministers were Babu Nilamber Mukerjee, Wazir Punnu and Sheikh Wahab Din. The Sheikh was given the charge of Mines and Minerals, Police and Jails, Development of Trade, Post and Telegraphs, roads and buildings, etc.[76]

In 1882, Maharaja Ranbir Singh created two councils, one each for the provinces of Jammu and Kashmir. These were to be presided over by the Governors of the respective provinces. Apart from Badri Nath, the Governor of Kashmir, the other members of Kashmir Provincial Council were Suraj Bal, Hiranand, Akbar Beg, Mirza Mohi-ud-din and Khawaja Sana Ullah Shawl. The function of these councils was to assist the Governors in the administration of the provinces.

It goes to the credit of Maharaja Ranbir Singh that he also organised the police force on the model of Britishers. The

Maharaja was wise enough to give a secular character to this newly formed force. Out of the total of 1656 police personnel, the number of Hindus was 630, Muslims 744 and 292 belonged to other classes.[77]

In 1880, the State Government introduced a jury system in the city courts of Srinagar and Jammu. This jury comprised of respectable citizens who enjoyed people's confidence. Their jurisdiction was extended to civil and criminal cases. In specific cases where the personal law of Hindus or Muslims was involved, a Dharam Shastri or a Mufti was associated with the jury.[78]

Barring a few, almost all the Jagirdars of the time of Maharaja Golab Singh continued to enjoy their Jagir grants. Only a few were deprived of their anti-Darbar activities.

The Maharaja, however, showed special favour to the Dogra Rajputs by bestowing upon them a large number of Jagir grants in the valley. This measure was politically motivated, as said earlier and designed to strengthen the Maharaja's position in the valley.

The Bengali-Punjabi rivalry reached its water mark in 1885, when Maharaja Pratap Singh ascended the throne.[79] Babu Nilamber Mukerjee was then forced to resign in the mid of 1886.[80] He was not on good terms with the new ruler as well as the British Resident in the State.

It seems after succeeding in the appointment of a Resident in the State, the British authorities in India wanted to increase the European and British Indian element in the State services. To do so, they found the pretext of supplying experienced hands for the modernisation of the State administration.

After his accession, Maharaja Pratap Singh wished to introduce a land settlement in the State. He wrote to Sir Charles Atchison, the then Lt. Governor of Punjab and also a personal friend of the Maharaja, to select for him a British official, preferably a Muslim, for this high job. He preferred

a Muslim because the Muslim community formed the bulk of the State population.[81] But Plowden, the Resident, impressed upon the Maharaja to employ an Englishman for the settlement work. As a result one Wingate was appointed.

The State recruitment policy entered a new phase when Maharaja Pratap Singh was virtually deposed from the rulership in 1889 and State Council took over his functions with British Resident enjoying the final say in the State administration. One of the initial orders issued by the State Council was to change the court language from Persian to Urdu. This sudden change took the natives by surprise. Only very few of them knew the new language and it opened the flood gates of employment to the outsiders.

With the excuse to bring about reforms in the State administration, the British Government pursued a policy of sending 'Indian lent officials' to man the various departments in the State. In 1901, their number came to 37.[82] Out of them, 9 were Englishmen and the rest British Indian subjects. Among the 28 Indians, 20 were Hindus, 5 Muslims and 3 Sikhs.[83] Except 2, the remaining 26 were deputed after 1889.

These figures significantly reveal that even the British deputed only 5 Muslims out of 28, when they could send as many of them as they wanted to a Muslim majority State. According to the British records, there were 17 Englishmen, other Europeans and Americans working in different capacities in the State.[84]

Between 1901-1906, eleven more officials were added to this list. Out of these eleven, seven were Englishmen and only four Muslims.[85] Although the English representation was not very big, yet their appointment on the key posts, made their position felt by the Indians.

By 1908, the Whiteman's number here swelled to 45[86], which was indeed very high when we keep in mind the employment avenues in the State. If we believe in Francis Young

husband, the Resident, the number of Europeans and Americans employed in the service of the State in 1906-07 was even higher—about seventy.[87] The departments in which they had complete monopoly were those of Sericulture, P.W.D., Mining, Horticulture, Games, Preservation, Fisheries, Forests and Electricity.[88]

Obviously, the more and more employment of outsiders with the expansion of various departments in the State was a sheer encroachment on the rights of the natives, who, being benefited by the rapid spread of education, had become claimants for absorption in them.

Almost simultaneously, the events took a new turn. The idea of communal representation propounded by the British colonialists led the All India Muslim Kashmiri Conference to demand for the employment of "Muslims from the Punjab in the State services if the competent Muslims in the State itself were not available".[89] But the Maharaja's Government, while declining to accede to this demand pursued the policy of preparing all of its subjects for employment, without distinction of caste and creed, by making special arrangements for the education of backward ones[90], with the Muslims standing at the top, as discussed in the earlier pages.

In 1921, Maharaja Pratap Singh was restored to his full powers.[91] By that time, to the annoyance of the natives, the outside influence had considerably increased in the civil administration in the State. But then education also had greatly spread here. These two factors aroused the feelings of 'sons of the soil' in the matter of services and led to the demand for bigger representation to the State subjects in the administration.[92] The Maharaja showed his eagerness to meet the wishes of the State subjects and on 13th May, 1922, ordered that "in future no non-subject should be appointed to any position in my State without my express order passed in council".[93]

Encouraged by this development, Anjuman Nusarat-ul-Islamia of Srinagar, submitted a memorandum[94] to the

Maharaja, demanding concessions in the qualifications of Muslim candidates for employment and reservation of posts for them proportionate to their population. It also demanded that till the qualified Muslims come forward for the reserved posts, these might be filled up temporarily[95] by the candidates from the other communities. Indirectly, it amounted to the rejection of the demand of All India Muslim Kashmiri Conference for the employment of Punjabi Muslims in such a case. The Maharaja's Government was prepared to lower the qualifications for the Muslim candidates from the State, and in some cases, it actually did so, but refused to accede to the demand of reservations for a particular community.

A section of the Muslims of Kashmir, however, still held that even qualified persons among them were ignored for employment. This allegation was made with full force with regard to the Sericulture Department after the Silk Factory disturbances in Srinagar in 1924. Raja Hari Singh, who was then the Senior Member of the State Council, enquired from the heads of different departments about the authenticity of the said allegations.[96] In reply, the member incharge of the Commerce and Industries Department said, "The allegation that Hindus are preferred is not correct as no deliberate policy of preferring them is followed".[97] He further remarked, "The Srinagar Silk Factory has Mr. McNamara as its Director, who could not, of course. be supposed to have any partiality or prejudice, so far as Hindus and Mohammadans are concerned."[98] McNamara also explained that the large number of Hindus on the higher posts in his department was due to the fact that suitable and sufficiently qualified Muslims were not forthcoming.[99] The Forest Department also had been under the charge of an European for the last more than quarter of a century, and he too, it was said, could not be expected to have supported a particular community.

But the fact remained that the Muslims occupied a very small number of posts in the State Forests as well as the Customs and Excise Departments.

In Forest Department, there were 414 employees, besides the Forest Guards, of whom 5 were Europeans, 56 Muslims, 18 Sikhs and the remaining 335 were Hindus.[100] Out of 335 Hindus, 42 were Rajputs, 149 Kashmiri Pandits, 41 other Brahmins, 101 other Hindus and 2 Bengalis. Thus, Muslims constituted only 13.5 per cent of the total number of employees in the Forest Department.

Besides them, in 1925-26, there were 969 permanent Forest Guards in the three Forest Circles of the State. Out of this total, 293 were Muslims, 70 Sikhs and the remaining 606 were Hindus.[101] Among the Hindus, the representation of Kashmiri Pandits, Rajputs, and other Hindus was 208, 171 and 227 respectively. The percentage of different religious communities thus came to as follows :

Muslims	30.2%
Sikhs	7.2%
Hindus	62.5%

The representation of Muslims in the Customs and Excise Department in the Jammu Province was also not adequate. Out of its 165 employees, only 28 were Muslims[102], which came to 17 per cent of the total number.

Similarly, in 1924 there were 240 Muslim teachers working in the State schools.[103] This was 25 per cent of the total number of teachers. In Kashmir Province, out of 426 teachers, 127 were Muslims, which was 30 per cent of the total strength. In the same year, there were 38 clerks and outdoor staff working in the Municipality of Srinagar. Among them 5 were Muslims and 33 Hindus. The menial staff comprised of 781 persons. Here the Muslims supplied the bulk of its strength. Their number was 749, whereas the Hindu employees were only 32. The Muslims thus constituted 96 per cent of the total employees.[104]

No major change came in the employment policy of the State Government after Maharaja Hari Singh ascended the

throne. But the principle of reservation of the State services for the natives which had been enunciated during the time of his predecessors was implemented with greater strictness.[105] The outside influence was also lessened. Both these measures provided greater employment opportunities of the State subjects.

Yet, the Muslims again lagged behind in the competition for services as compared to the other communities. The Government's refusal to reserve posts on communal basis, made it difficult for them to acquire their share in proportion to their population.[106]

Recruitment in the Army

Hardly there is any source which exactly tells about the ethnical composition of the Dogra Army during Maharaja Golab Singh's time. In all probability, he continued with all the armed forces, which he was commanding as a feudatory of the Lahore Darbar. That army was organised on secular lines and contained Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims in considerable number. This contention is supported by the composition of about 106 war prisoners of the time of General Zorawar Singh (1840) who were repatriated from Tibet in 1857. Among them 30 were Muslim soldiers, 11 were from Kashmir.[107]

In 1849, Maharaja Golab Singh is said to have raised No. 3 Kashmir Rifles which was mainly composed of Gorkhas. He used their services in establishing the Dogra influence in the Frontier illaqa.[108] They displayed remarkable bravery in the Gilgit war of 1852.[109]

Speaking about Ranbir Singh's army, T.D. Forsyth wrote, "The Maharaja takes pride in his army, which presents a very fair appearance. The men are recruited from Jummoo Hills, Punjab, Hindustan. There are some Regiments of Goorkhas, whom the Maharaja has persuaded, by grants of land etc. to settle in his territory and from Baltistan and the N.W. Frontier, a very fair body of soldiers has been recruited for

the army".[110] The Battalions which had Gorkhas in considerable number in their ranks were named Raghnath Battalion, raised in 1856, and Bodyguards, raised in 1869.[111] In 1868, Ranbir Singh planned to raise a regular Kuka Regiment just in the same way as he had done in the case of regular Regiments of Baltis and Dogras.[112] This he actually began to do in 1869, and by 1872 about 200 men of the Kuka sect of the Sikhs had been recruited. But in consequence of the Kuka's violent cow prohibition movement in Punjab, the British suspected "that the objective of the sect is to overthrow the British Government and the re-establishment of Khalsa Raj."[113] The British Government, therefore, dismissed the Kukas serving in their Army and police. As recruiting parties from the State used to visit Punjab to enlist soldiers for the State army[114], including those from among the Kukas also, the British Government took measures to stop them from doing so.

In view of these anti-Kuka proceedings in British India and the possibility of British annoyance over the State policy of raising a Kuka Regiment in Jammu and Kashmir, the Maharaja also disbanded their Regiment.

Ranbir Singh's army was composed of Infantry, Cavalry, Artillery and Sappers and Miners. Besides, there was a Jagirdar Battalion which also formed a part of the Dogra Army. The Jagirdars, majority of whom were Muslims[115], were required to supply men for this Battalion. Naturally, the bulk in this Battalion belonged to the Muslim community.

Another important constituent of the Dogra Army was the Khola Fauj or Khushalla Fauj.[116] It was an army of irregulars, based on the bradari basis, and almost all the communities were represented in it. Thus, we find that in 1882, it had men from among the Sikhs, Dogras, Purbias (Hindustanis) and Pathans. The Pathans, however, formed the major portion of it. In order to make it more reliable, Ranbir Singh increased the Hindu influence in this force, with the result that a large number of its commanders came to be Rajputs and Sikhs.[117]

Actually, recruitment in the Khola Fauj served as a refuge for most of the frustrated people such as Pathans from Swat and Buner, who had to leave their homes on account of blood feuds, and the men discharged for misconduct from the British regiments.[118]

The Dogra Artillery consisted mostly of men from among the Rajputs and Punjabi Muslims.[119] But in the Sappers and Miners Section, lower caste people were employed, and often their commander used to be a Muslim.[120] Then there was the Body Guard's unit in which there were about 600 personnel belonging to the Dogras, Sikhs, Gurkhas and Pathans. It was an infantry unit.

There was also a mounted body of Mian Rajputs, which had 300 men in its ranks.[121] This was meant to look after the personal security of the ruler. In lieu of pay, its men were granted Jagirs, and many of them were related to the Maharaja.

To keep watch over the Forts and the Frontier posts, the State had recruited Fort guards. Almost all of them were the Pathans residents of Machipura. As these men were well acquainted with the conditions of the illaqa, they were preferred. In lieu of pay Jagirs were granted to them. The total strength of these guards was about 160.[122]

Thus, we see that under Maharaja Ranbir Singh, the Dogra army was composed of Dogras, Hindus and Muslims, Punjabi Hindus and Muslims, Pathans and Purbias. Some of the Regiments were wholly composed of Muslims from Gilgit and Astore.[123] In this connection, one should not be misled by a statement in the Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh. It says, "the bulk of the Dogra army consisted of the Dogras".[124] The term "Dogras" here denotes neither caste nor religion and is applied to all the inhabitants of the territory of Duggar, Hindus as well as Muslims. There is, however, no doubt that Hindus among them predominated, and there were only few from Kashmir.[125]

In 1888, Lord Dufferin, the Viceroy of India, mooted an idea of raising Imperial Service Troops from the native States so that they could be used in the time of emergency.[126] Soon after, he had to lay down the reins of Viceroyalty to Lord Lansdown. But before doing so, he announced an agreement with the States under which those of these which had good fighting material were to raise a portion of the army which would go in action side by side with the Imperial Troops.[127]

The Jammu and Kashmir State provided the largest contingent of Imperial Service Troops. One of its infantry regiments was composed of Dogras, another of Gurkhas and small hillmen, and the third chiefly of Muslims, called the Pioneers.[128] The Purbias and Pathans, who used to be earlier recruited with Jammu and Kashmir Force, were now dropped.[129]

In 1890, 4 JAK and 5 Kashmir Light Infantry units were added to the Imperial Service Troops. The JAK unit consisted of three companies of the Dogras and three of the Gurkhas. The Light Infantry unit had two companies each of the Dogras and Gurkhas and Jammu Muslims.[130]

Among the State forces which participated in the First World War, there was the 2 JAK Infantry, which had 50 per cent Gorkhas and 50 per cent Muslim soldiers and the 3 JAK which comprised of 50 per cent Hindu Dogras and 50 per cent Muslims. Between 1921 and 1924, J&K forces underwent a period of significant reorganisation. In the process, 4 JAK which originally comprised of 100 per cent Dogras was converted into one consisting of 50 per cent Dogras and 50 per cent Muslims. Two new battalions of Pioneers and Temple Guards were raised. The former comprised of 50 per cent Hindu Dogras and 50 per cent Muslims.

In 1931, out of 207 total Gazetted appointments in the army, 64 were occupied by the Muslims.[131] This amounted to 31 per cent of the total gazetted posts in the army.

Evidently, the Dogra kings made no distinction in the recruitment of their armed forces. All the castes and classes, which came under the category of martial races, were represented in their Army. But there is no denying the fact that defence of the States was the main consideration with them and keeping it in view, the policy of giving representation to various communities in the State forces in proportion to their number, could not be implemented. Loyalty of men to the ruler was given the top most priority while recruiting them in the army. As Rajputs fulfilled this qualification abundantly, and, moreover, were the best fighting material in the world, they found themselves in considerable number in the Dogra army. A large number of commissioned officers also belonged to this caste. As the non-Jat Sikhs[132] and Kashmiris, both Hindus and Muslims, did not belong to the martial races, they did not find place in the armed forces. It was a general rule in India also to recruit people from the martial communities only, and this was followed in the State also.

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9

Government Attitude— Religious Policy

Religious Policy

Lastly, let us examine the religious policy of the Dogra rulers to see its impact on the inter-communal relations of their subjects.

Maharaja Golab Singh's royal house, a devout Hindu family, was put to a severe test when it acquired a territory with an overwhelming population of Muslims. As we have already seen, among other factors, it was the possibility of traditional clash between the religious beliefs of Hindus and Muslims, the two major communities of the State, which had discouraged even the British to directly take over its control.[1]

Influenced by his family traditions and the political schooling which he underwent at the court of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, Maharaja Golab Singh declared at the very outset of his reign in 1846, "Hindus and Mohammadans shall be equally at liberty to follow the precepts of their own religions agreeably to which also justice will be dispensed."[2]

He had allowed full religious freedom to the Muslims even when he was the raja of Jammu (1822-1846). G.T. Vigne

wrote, "Jammu is, accordingly, the only place in the Punjab where the Mullas may call the Musalmans to prayer. Ranjit Singh had forbidden them to do so, but Golab Singh, his powerful vassal, allowed them to ascend the miners of Jammu in exercise of their vocation."[3]

In 1846, John Lawrence, Agent to Governor General, N.W. Frontier visited Kashmir to enquire into the alleged atrocities committed by the Maharaja on his Muslim subjects. He then saw two principal mosques of Srinagar crowded with devotees and, "officials performing all the ceremonies and practices in a Muslim community".[4]

He also heard in a big mosque the proclamation from the Maharaja, authorising the calling of *Azan* which was prohibited during the Sikh rule in Kashmir.[5] Refuting the charge of Golab Singh being a Muslim persecutor, he wrote, "No Seikh or Hindoo ruler, within my knowledge, ever managed Mohammadans more discreetly than Golab Singh. He leans to them, he looks to them and has ever done so as a counterpoise to the Seikhs."[6]

But at the same time, the Maharaja had made it very clear that "there are certain practices among Mohammadans distasteful to the religious prejudices of Hindus which cannot be permitted."[7] Obviously, here he referred to the practice of cow slaughter which was officially banned during the Sikh rule but was tacitly allowed by the last two Muslim Governors of the Sikhs.[8]

In Jammu and Kashmir, the Shia-Sunni conflict was of a long standing. Shias had separate mosques and Sunnis looked down upon them as heretics.[9] Their differences often resulted in Shia-Sunni communal riots which, however, became more frequent since the times of Afghans.[10] The Muharram was the chief occasion when these riots took place. Consequently, to avoid communal strife between them the predecessors of the Dogras, had banned Muharram procession. But Maharaja Golab Singh allowed it, of course, before sun rise.[11]

Muslim religious leaders also received full State patronage during his time. He granted *Khilats* to Maulvis, Muftis and Kazis on the occasion of Id-ul-Fittr and Id-ul-Zuha.[12] He also recognised all the land grants assigned by his predecessors to various religious institutions.[13]

Golab Singh himself was a devoted Hindu. He took keen interest in the construction of temples and a large number of them owe their existence in various towns of the State to him.[14] In 1846-47 (S. 1903), he created a Dharamarth Fund for such activities as the maintenance of State temples, charitable institutions and schools engaged in religious education.[15] Sixty villages were attached as Jagirs to the Dharamarth Fund for this purpose. Besides the revenue from these villages, the Fund also received income from the offerings at different temples under its control.[16] The endowments also consisted of cash contributions made from time to time by Golab Singh and his successor, Maharaja Ranbir Singh.[17]

Maharaja Ranbir Singh followed the religious policy of his father. He was also a devout Hindu and is well known for his temple construction activities.

But his rule is conspicuous for the Christian missionary activities.

In 1863, one R Clark started preaching Christianity in Srinagar. One day, he got some Muslims to smoke with the same hooka (smoking pipe).[18] Suspecting he was converting them, Muslims broke into an anti-Missionary riot and Clark had to save his life by taking refuge with the authorities. His open preaching in the bazars and other places in the city and criticism of Islam and other faiths also contributed towards this disturbance.[19]

Thereafter, the Maharaja discouraged the missionaries in their religious activities. The missionaries also then began to take more interest in social services, like the opening of schools and dispensaries, and the Maharaja helped them in this task.[20]

The Missionaries extended their activities to Jammu also which was a Hindu majority area.[21] That the Maharaja did not object to this, is sufficient to relieve him of the allegation that he was anti-Christian.

According to a newspaper report, the Maharaja told the Missionaries in plain words that he could not allow preaching in the public and that his subjects had no desire to embrace Christianity. But for the convenience of the English officers and other Christians, he allowed the construction of a church near the Residency in Srinagar.[22]

On March 10, 1884, Maharaja Ranbir Singh reorganised the Dharamarth Fund and provided five lakhs of rupees by way of *Sankalap* for the permanent maintenance of public charitable institutions.[23] He also constituted a Trust to manage the affairs of the Dharamarth department.[24]

According to the Tribune of September 26, 1885, Maharaja Ranbir Singh "was by no means a bigot, although a precise Hindu, while he built numerous temples and gave away ridiculous sums to religious mendicants, he also gave money to repair Mohammadan shrines and mosques, and even to build Christian churches.[25]

Maharaja Pratap Singh, most religious of all the rulers of his family, also built a number of temples in the State and made arrangements for their maintenance.[26]

By an order of the Government, the use of meat was strictly prohibited in the temples, and the reception department was accordingly ordered not to supply it to the State guests accommodated in the buildings within the temple premises.[27]

Maharaja Pratap Singh was also very liberal in donating money to the S.D. Sabha and other institutions connected with the Sanatan Dharam.[28]

We have already mentioned that cow slaughter was prohibited in Jammu and Kashmir during the Sikh rule. Under the Dogras also, it was a nonbailable offence. Beef could not

even be imported into the State from outside. But in 1896, the State Council made the cow-slaughter a bailable offence.[29]

In the Hindu mythology, the Dussehra festival is considered as a victory of truth over sin. It was on this day that Sri Ram, the hero of Ramayana, who represented truth, killed Ravana, the King of Sri Lanka, who was the symbol of sin. Now it was declared as a State festival and began to be celebrated officially. On this occasion, the Maharaja or a high dignitary representing the Maharaja, gave away offerings to the Brahamins and the other needy people, irrespective of their caste and creed. Poor Muslims also received gifts on the occasion.[30]

Besides Dussehra, the State Government also celebrated the annual 'Annkoot' (अन्नकूट). This was a public festival which was attended by the State officials as well as publicmen belonging to all religions.[31] The poor people, irrespective of their caste and creed were fed in large numbers at the State expense.[32]

Apart from extending religious patronage to the Hindus, the State Government took care to see that Muslims also were not neglected. In 1886, one Nawab Ahsun-ullah Khan of Decca donated Rs. 5196 for the repair of certain mosques in Srinagar, under Government supervision.[33] The State Government, accordingly, lent the services of Ghulam Mohiuddin, the General Member of the State Council, for the purpose.[34]

Similarly, in 1905-06 (S. 1969), the Maharaja constituted a committee of reputed Muslims of Kashmir to collect subscriptions for the repair of Jama Masjid. But when it failed to achieve much even during a period of six years[35], the State Government took over the repair work in its own hands. Besides advancing loan for the purpose from the State exchequer[36], the Government also levied on the Sunni Muslims a cess of about three per cent on the land revenue[37] which continued to be charged till 1927.[38] All the requirements of timber were supplied free of cost by the State Government.[39]

By 1913, the State had established its Archeological Department to preserve all the old buildings and monuments of historical importance, belonging to both the Hindus and the Muslims.[40]

The Muslim Maulvis, Muftis of various mosques and Kazis were given *khillats* on the occasion of Id-ul-Fittr.[41] The Ahmediya Khalifa Nur-ud-din Imam was given a *khillat* of Rs. 50 on the occasion of Id-ul-Zuha.[42] In 1923, when the Ahmediyas were divided into two sections, i.e., Zamait Ahmediya of Lahore and Zamait Ahmediya of Qadian, the State Government decided to distribute the khillats among both of them.[43] Again, in July, 1924, the Maharaja sanctioned Rs. 250 from his private funds and Rs. 250 from the State treasury to Mir Maqbul Shah Qadri, to meet the kitchen expenses of Pir Dastgir Sahib Shrine.[44] This shrine had already been receiving Rs. 250 annually from the State Government.[45]

The State Government also showed full regards to the heads of all religions. In 1912, when Sayid Ibrahim, the Grand Pir of Bagdad, visited Srinagar, he was treated as a State guest.[46] Similar treatment was accorded to the Head Lama of Hemis when he visited Srinagar as well as Jammu during 1917. On his return, a khillat was also presented to him.[47] The Head Priest of Bohras was granted Rs. 700 as *Zifat* when he visited the State in 1923.[48]

In November, 1901, Nizam-ud-din, the *Mutwali* of Hazaratbal, Srinagar, died. The Maharaja directed the Governor of Kashmir to perform the *Dastarbandi* of his successor and also to present a *Dastar*, a pair of shawls and a sum of Rs. 100 as a taken of respect to the Head of the Shrine.[49]

The State Government also took keen interest in the upkeep of religious institutions of the Muslims. In 1914 (S. 1972), when Mir Hassan Shah Qadri of Ziarat Pir Dastgir, in Srinagar died[50], his non was a minor. In order to look after the management of the Jagir and the well-being of his family, the Maharaja appointed Mirza Ghulam Mustafa as the guardian

of his estate.[51] In 1923, when the son, Mir Maqbul Shah, became major, Government withdrew the services of Mirza Ghulam Mustafa and the former was allowed to manage his estate independently.[52]

While thus patronising all religions, the Dogra rulers did not permit the members of any community to encroach upon the freedom of other religions. The trouble makers were taken to task, whatever their religion. Thus, in August 1898, when some Muslims of Srinagar, complained that a number of Hindus, including Pt. Hargopal, pleader and Pt. Janki Nath had sacrileged by using abusive language against Islam[53], not only were the offenders arrested[54], but the Government also cancelled the pleader's licence.[55] But the Muslims were still not satisfied. Therefore, the State Government expelled Pt. Hargopal, Pt. Janki Nath and Pt. Sham Prasad from the State territories[56] and Pt. Sham Narain, another offender, was removed from the State service.[57] It is significant to note here that these stringent measures against the alleged offenders were taken despite their acquittal by the court of law.[58]

Similarly, in 1910, Dewan Badri Nath, the Chief Minister of the State, had a land dispute with Haji Mohi-ud-din, the Mutwali of the Sarai Bala mosque, Amirakadal, Srinagar.[59] Even the Resident accepted that the said land belonged to the Dewan and that the Muslims had encroached upon it to use it as a place for religious congregation.[60] The settlement records also showed no entry in favour of the Muslims.[61] But just in deference to the Muslim sentiments, the Dewan withdrew his legitimate claims on the land[62] and the Government ceded the disputed land to the mosque.

Moreover, the Government granted full freedom to the preachers of all religions within the State territories. Its only consideration was that their activities should not disturb public peace. In 1901, certain Maulvis belonging to the Wahabi as well as the Hanafi sects of muslims undertook preaching tour in the State. The Maharaja ordered that such preachings should be allowed only within the premises of the mosques.

This was done to avoid the gathering of people in any large number from the plague affected areas, which was then raging in some parts of the Jammu province.[63] Later, there was a danger of breach of peace as the said preachers began to criticise each others way of worship. So, finally the Government ordered the Maulvis to stop preaching altogether.[64]

A similar situation arose in 1917, when the Arya Samaj stepped up its activities in the State. The followers of Sanatan Dharam opposed them. The Government then asked the members of both groups to "abstain from such utterances objectionable or which may injure feelings of any other sect or class".[65]

In Kashmir, there was a long standing dispute between the two parties of Sunni Muslims over the question of preaching in different mosques.[66] These factions were led by Mirwaiz of Jama Masjid, on the one hand, and Mirwaiz Hamdani, on the other[67], and often the two clashed with each other. Consequently, in 1910, the Government imposed pre-conditions on the preachers to seek prior permission from the authorities if they wanted to preach at a particular mosque.

But Mirwaiz Ahmed-ullah objected to this measure[68] and, on his pleas, the Maharaja withdrew the restrictions but the Mutwali of the concerned mosque was required to report to the police the time, date and the name of the preacher beforehand.[69] Moreover, the state authorities succeeded in bringing the rival parties to reach an amicable settlement of their dispute regarding their preaching rights.[70] But their differences were renewed soon after, and the two factions began to quarrel again off and on.

Another traditional rivalry between the Shias and Sunnis of Srinagar over the question of Moharram-ul-Haran, as already mentioned, had led the Government to allow the Shias to take out their procession in the early morning. But in 1924, the Shias tried to violate this restriction.[71] The police, however, checked them, which action led to a Muslim protest. Leaders

of all the Muslim sects then submitted a joint memorandum and appealed to the Government to allow this ceremony to be performed during the day time.[72] But the Government was unwilling to accede to their appeal in view of the history of intensity of animosity between the two sects in Srinagar, and, therefore, wanted to have no risks.[73] Moreover, it pointed out that the practice of taking out the procession before the sun rise was also in vogue at Lahore and Lucknow, the places notorious for Shia-Sunni riots.[74] That the Government was guided by no consideration other than the avoidance of clash between the two sects was brought home to them by the fact that in the villages of the valley, the Moharram was allowed to be celebrated during the day time, without any restriction.[75] The leaders then fully satisfied the authorities that they would maintain perfect peace during the procession, and with that the government relented in their attitude. So, on 15th April, 1925, after many years, the Shias could take out the Zu-ul-Jennah procession at day time.[76]

In Jammu and Kashmir, there were certain mosques and ziarats which had been either closed down by the order of the Government or were under the direct control of the State. In the first place was the *Pathar Masjid* which had been discarded by the Muslims of Kashmir themselves and it was being used as a State Granary even before the Dogra rule. In December 1910, the Archeological department requested the State Government to transfer this building to their control.[77] The Government had a plan to locate an orphanage within its premises. But the Revenue Minister disagreed with this plan on the ground that to use mosque as a dwelling would hurt the feelings of the Muslims, and proposed its transfer to the Archeological department.[78] Consequently, on 25th June, 1913, the Maharaja ordered the transfer of the *Masjid* to the charge of Archeological department. But, in 1916, the Police department decided to construct police lines within its premises and even started the work. Thereupon, the Muslims of Kashmir launched a peaceful agitation against this move.[79] On enquiry, the Government found that the Police department had started the work without its knowledge and permission.[80] Consequently, the work was

immediately stopped and the mosque was again restored to the Archeological department.[81] But, in 1919, the President, Anjuman Nusarat-ul-Islamia, Srinagar, submitted an application to the Maharaja to allow the transfer of Islamia High School, within the premises of the mosque. Mirwaiz Hamdani's party, however, opposed this transfer on the ground that the opening of a school there would do a disrespect to the mosque. Consequently, no action was taken on the application of the President.

Again, there was a ziarat near Vicharnag in Kashmir, known as Madin Sahib. In 1872, the Shias and the Sunnis of the area quarrelled over the question of construction of a wall around the ziarat, and a serious riot followed.[82] Consequently, the ziarat was closed down for public use. In August, 1907, the Archeological department asked the Government to transfer it to them, and Mr. Marshal, its Director, proposed that its tiles should be removed to the Srinagar Museum.[83] But the Maharaja refused to disturb the status-quo maintained since 1872.[84]

There were certain other mosques also viz., Khanqah Sohkhat, Khanqah Bulbul Shah and Khanqah Dara Shikoh at Srinagar, Malshahi Bagh mosque, Gandharwal, which were under the control of the Government, but were finally handed over to the Muslim community in 1931 by Maharaja Hari Singh.[85] The Pathar Masjid was also then transferred to the Muslims.

The Government showed full religious tolerance in declaring important religious occasions as State holidays. Thus, besides the important Hindu festivals, which included Guru Nanak as well as Guru Gobind Singh's birthdays, all the important Muslim religious occasions were also treated thus.[86]

First, by making Persian and then Urdu as the court language, the Dogra Kings gave another proof of their broadmindedness. On the other hand, when in 1917 (S. 1974) Shri Mukhya Braham Mandal Sabha of Jammu asked the Government to

make the study of Hindi compulsory for the Hindus in the State educational institutions,[87] the Government turned this proposal down and instead emphasised the need of learning Urdu.[88]

The Government was careful that its officials should not feel embarrassed in preserving their religious beliefs while on duty. Hence, when it built a Rest House at Benihal for the stay of State officials[89] during the Darbar move from Jammu to Srinagar and vice versa, separate arrangements were made there for the kitchen, boarding and lodging of the Hindus and Muslims.

Contrary to his predecessors, Maharaja Hari Singh did not possess a conservative outlook. In his coronation address he declared "justice is my religion".[90] Undoubtedly, he possessed a secular bent of mind. In the words of Resident, he was a man of "undoubted impartiality". He further observed, "His Highness is totally unbiased and his action throughout this trying period have been dictated by the highest motive and he has displayed great ability, cool judgement and firm control".[91]

No change came about in the State religious policy under him. In a way, however, he was different from his predecessors. He was thoroughly influenced by progressive ideas. He did not look at the administrative problems from religious point of view. In his birth day message on 9th July 1931, he declared, that "I will not permit any discrimination against any class of my people on the ground of religion".[92] His political enemies as well as fanatics among the Muslims alleged that under him *Azan* was prohibited and *Khutaba* was not allowed to be recited. But these were totally false allegations. On the same occasion, he, therefore, further observed, "There is no law or Government order which prohibits *Azan* or *Khutaba* or any other religious rite. *Azan* and *Khutaba* are being daily called and recited all over the State".[93]

There was an allegation that the State Government had acted with religious bias when it had declared the Muslim

Bakarwals as a criminal tribe, but had left the Hindu Gaddis out who also followed the same profession.[94] The facts, however, are that the former class of people were declared as a criminal tribe not because they were Muslims but because they were engaged in armed dacoities and thefts. There had been many complaints from the European travellers as well as the native people (Muslims) against them. After committing crime, they often slipped across the State borders towards the North-West Frontier to which they originally belonged to.

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10

Conclusion

This study reveals a few underground facts of social psychology working towards both the trends—amity as well as tension. We find that during the major period of our study the people of various communities residing in Jammu and Kashmir state had very cordial relations. The conversion of majority of the people to Islam hardly brought about any change in their relations with the people of their former religion. In spite of their adoption of a totally different religious philosophy, the native converts could not cast off their old cultural ties. Hindu influence was still visible in their way of life. It reflected in their socio-religious beliefs and customs. The people, irrespective of their caste or creed, maintained all types of social relations. They were co-participant's in each other's social ceremonies concerning marriage, birth and death. Although the Hindus and Muslims did not enter into matrimonial relations and also held taboos regarding inter-dining, yet these hardly came in the way of their mutual relations.

But the situation began to take a major turn when this society entered the last quarter of the 19th century. As a result of the rise in pan-Islamism and simultaneous emergence of militant revivalism amongst other communities, such as the Arya Samaj movement and the Akali movement, communalism

became a powerful factor to be reckoned with within the inter-community squabbles in the neighbouring Punjab where Vernacular press became divided on communal lines and added more fuel to the communal fire. The people then started organising themselves into communal as well as sectarian groups. Among them, the most important from our point of view, was All India Muslim Kashmiri Conference, of Lahore, which in fact made Muslims of the state as its sole concern and fanned the communal fire, and its activities went a long way, in arousing political consciousness and communal sentiments among the Muslims of the state.

Consequently, the people of Jammu and Kashmir also established a number of communal and sectarian organisations to fight for, and to safeguard, their rights and privileges. By 1931 communal sentiments had run so high that a small incident gave opportunity to fanatic Muslim leaders to incite Muslims against Hindus and their efforts led to the bursting of the communal violence on 13th July, 1931. This agitation of 1931 may, therefore, be said to have broken a new ground in the inter-communal relations in the state which turned worse with the march of time.

A long span of initial communal amity seems to have been a natural growth out of the socio-religious shake up in our country during the period of Mughal rule, which resulted in the final communal harmony and understanding which persisted unabated during the later centuries, till the first quarter of the 20th century. There were several factors responsible for, and peculiar to, such homogenius atmosphere in the state. The foremost factor was a liberal and detached attitude towards religion and faith. Individually or collectively people followed the tenets and commandments of their religions, but they did not in pursuance of a well established social convention, let religious sentiments enter their inter-community relations and political behaviour. The spirit of tolerance of others prevailed generally. In fact, there was a sort of '*Udaseenta*'.(indifference) toward religion in general and people were not much swayed by its dictates in the socio-political behaviour. One fact cannot

be ignored, that both in Kashmir and in Jammu a vast majority of Muslims had been Hindu converts and it was but natural that the spirit of Hindu catholicity and religious liberalism was retained for long by the converts. This fact always reminded them of the fundamental and grass-root oneness of the Hindus and Muslim converts, and the heterogeneity of religion did not harm their basis social unity and homogeneity.

This factor ruled their socio-cultural behaviour also. The converts in Kashmir and Jammu could not shake of all the socio-cultural customs and conventions of their Hindu forefathers. Apart from some patent religious tenets and basic elements of Islam to which they were indoctrinated and which they ritually followed as routine, there were no elaborate socio-cultural concepts and customs before them except those of Hindu society in which their forefathers had been bred and most of which they had inherited without question or doubt. This resulted in the homogeneity of social behaviour and exposure to influences of a common culture with only a very superficial variation. This situation resulted in the absence of any sort of social conflict which could arouse their sentiments and rear mutual distrust or communal emotions.

The traditional economic inter-dependence of both the communities was another factor which helped continuance communal harmony. The Muslim community, generally backward economically was more dependent on Hindu Mahajans, money-lenders and Hindu zamindars and merchants for their livelihood and commercial activities. Hindu landlords and merchants depended on Muslim craftsmen, labourers and middlemen in all their economic and agricultural activities. This interdependence, coupled with a realisation of common cultural origin a little liberal outlook towards non-religious activities had bred among communities in the state a sort of mental adjustment to the then existing way of life and each community seemed to have unconsciously reconciled itself to its role and status in social set up. At the same time, there was absence of fanatic forces and propulsions which are

necessary for destroying the social equilibrium which prevailed in state up to the close of the 19th century.

But this cordiality went to dogs when towards the end of the 19th century, exotic forces began interfering in the state affairs on behalf of either of the community. Besides creating a class consciousness, they convinced the people of one community that their interests widely differed from those of the other. It led to a reaction among the other communities also, and tension began to develop in their mutual relations. The breaking reached in July 1931, when Hindu-Muslim riots broke out on an extensive scale. The age old communal harmony was completely shattered. It gave rise to mutual suspicion. Moreover, it divided the major communities of the state into water-tight compartments, pushing them to the stage of no easy return.

Factors responsible for this new development in this state were not many. Though the situation looked complex but it can be easily analysed and simplified. Several grievances were aired through representations and memoranda and the main strain of these was lack of adequate representation in services and political bodies for the Muslims and their economic and educational backwardness. If given time, it was not difficult to remove these grievances in due course of time, and Maharaja Hari Singh had actually made a start by announcing various 'boons' at the time of his coronation and by introducing condition of permanent/hereditary domicile for state services. These reforms could have gone way in improving the condition of Muslims in the State but the religious factors proved a stumbling block in the way of progress and appeasement of the aggrieved. Religious fanaticism, which was being fanned by forces operating from Punjab who had joined hands with the British rulers of India in their policy of 'divide and rule', so blinded the majority community in the state that no amount of concessions to them was likely to appease and satisfy them. The forces which were heading towards the concept and creation of Pakistan did not allow the reason to prevail and let people to perceive comfort in re-establishment of communal

amity. History stands witness that religious fanaticism has destroyed many a sublime fabric of progressive and peaceful societies, and in the case of Jammu and Kashmir as in other parts of India, during the thirties and forties of this century, it was the same blind spirit which wrought havoc in the garb of politico-economic grievances. The communalists and fanatics had joined hands with the British rulers in their policy of exploitation of the religious and caste sentiments of a section of India who also threw their tentacles into the soil of this state and played the game of the British rulers against the reformist Maharaja Hari Singh and the people of the state in general. The stark communalism in this state was primarily a fall-out from the vicious atmosphere of the British ruled Punjab and the imperial vaults of Delhi which had surcharged the fanatic religious leaders with consuming hatred against followers of other religions. Under the blinding influence religiously fanatic people refused to listen to reason.

In such an atmosphere surcharged with religious emotions, there was no reconciling agency which apply some sedative to calm down those emotions, though it is doubtful if they have listened to any such factor if it had existed. The mutual distrust, generated by the fanatic leadership had produced a sort of fear-psychosis among the majority community in the state which subsequent leadership played upon unabated.

It is very evident that recent political leadership in the state did not make efforts to remedy the root factor, although under early governments after independence, this factor was not played upon, leaving it to remain dormant and latent. But as soon as local leadership came into conflict with central leadership or found political ground slipping under their feet, they, like Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah and the Chief Ministers who succeeded him, fanned that religious factor into a patent force for use against the centre and pampered among Muslims of this state the ideals of pan-Islamism and Islamisation, which have never before appealed to the people. The present impasse is no doubt the fruit of that policy which the central leadership

of our country refused to recognise due to their own selfish and personal motives, and failed to destroy its fabric in time. The present study also emphasises the need for the eradication of the spirit of religious fanaticism and elimination of that leadership from the state politics which had played in the past and may seek to play upon in future, on this disturbing and disquieting factor. All other unhealthy factors were present to some degree in the past and are likely to persist in spite of best efforts to remedy them, but without religious factor these were not only tolerated, but they did not have the sting which they are now being attributed very vocally and belligerently.

Appendices

APPENDIX—A

Number of persons belonging to different religious groups residing in various divisions of the State in the year 1911*

Divisions	*Total*	*Hindus*			*Muslims*			*Sikhs*	*Buddhists*
		Brahaminic	*Arya*	*Total*	*Sunnis*	*Shias*	*Total*		
State	3158126	689342	1047	690389	2194503	203817	2398320	31553	36512
Jammu Province	1597865	625456	983	626439	948258	5035	953293	16659	452
Jammu Distt.	326691	195470	604	196074	124823	1836	126659	3156	—
Jasrota Distt.	151802	116267	72	116339	35014	160	35174	108	11
Udhampur Distt.	215725	130748	17	130765	84277	113	84390	128	439
Riasi Distt.	206809	80886	11	80897	125274	150	125424	487	—
Mirpur Distt.	324933	57187	225	57412	262691	1656	264347	3156	—
Bhadarwah Jagir	37512	22931	—	22931	14580	—	14580	—	1
Poonch Illaqa	334393	21967	54	22021	301599	1120	302719	9624	1
Kashmir Province	1295201	62368	45	62413	1174964	42804	1217768	14772	3
Kashmir North	460784	9917	5	9922	415502	30746	446248	4575	2
Kashmir South	629210	47754	40	47794	576968	11673	588641	2486	—
Muzaffarabad	195205	4697	—	4697	182494	385	182879	7611	1
Frontier Districts	265060	1518	19	1537	71281	155978	227259	122	36057
Ladakh	186656	407	18	425	43574	106496	150070	41	35057
Gilgit	23969	816	—	816	11987	11088	23075	57	—
Frontier Illaqa	54435	295	1	296	15720	38394	54114	54	—

**Census of India*, 1911, Vol. XX, Kashmir, Part-II, Tables, Lucknow, pp. 18-19.

APPENDIX—B

Districtwise percentage of the people belonging to different religious groups in the Jammu and Kashmir State in 1911*

Province and District	*Hindus*	*Muslims*	*Sikhs*	*Buddhists*
A. Jammu Province				
Jammu district	63.0	38.7	0.96	—
Kathua district	76.6	23.1	—	—
Udhampur distt.	60.6	39.1	—	—
Bhadarwah Jagir	61.1	38.8	—	—
Riasi distt.	39.1	60.6	—	—
Mirpur district	17.6	81.6	0.97	—
Poonch Illaqa	6.5	90.5	2.80	—
B. Kashmir Province				
Kashmir North District	2.15	97.7	—	—
Kashmir South District	7.47	92.0	—	—
Total Valley	5.24	94.0	0.65	—
Muzaffarabad District	2 40	93.68	3.80	—
C. Frontier Districts				
Ladakh District	—	80.39	—	19.3
Gilgit	—	99.0	—	—
Frontier Illaqa	—	99.0	—	—

**Census of India*, 1911, Vol. XX, Kashmir, Part-II, Tables, Luckhow, 1912, pp. 18-19.

APPENDIX—C

Population variations among different communities (Compiled from Census Reports)

	Population				*Variation (%)*		
	1901	*1911*	*1921*	*1931*	*1901-11*	*1911-21*	*1921-31*
Hindus	689515	690389	692626	736222	+ 0.1	+ 0.1	+ 6.3
Muslims	2154738	2398320	2548514	2817636	+11.3	+ 6.26	+10.55
Sikhs	25828	31553	39507	50662	+22.1	+25.2	+28.2
Buddhists	35047	36512	37685	38724	+ 4.1	+ 3.2	+ 2.7

Percentage of the population in the State according to religion

	Population				*Variation*	
	1901	*1911*	*1921*	*1931*	*1901-31*	
Hindus	23.7	21.8	20.8	20.1	—3.6	
Muslims	74.1	75.9	76.7	77.2	+3.1	
Sikhs	0.88	0.99	1.18	1.38	+0.5	
Buddhists	1.28	1.15	1.13	1.00	—0.28	

APPENDIX—D

Table indicating various communal disturbances, their place of occurrence, communities involved and the nature of cause which led to them

S. No.	*Year of occurrence*	*Place of occurrence*	*Communities involved*	*Cause of the disturbance*
1.	1872	Srinagar and adjoining areas	Shia and Sunni Muslims	(a) Clash in economic interests (b) Ideological differences
2.	1893	Ali Kadal, Srinagar	Hindus-Muslims	Dispute over a bathing place
3.	1895	Arnia, Tehsil R.S. Pura, Jammu	Hindus-Muslims	Dispute over a question of Muslims saying 'Azan'.
4.	1897	Mirpur	Hindus-Muslims	Clash in the economic interest of Hindu Shahukars and Muslim peasantry.
5.	1902	Mirpur	Hindus-Muslims	Clash in the economic interest of Hindu Shahukars and Muslim peasantry.
6.	1913	Poonch	Hindus-Muslims	Rivalry among the political elite to acquire political influence in Poonch Darbar.

7.	April, 1914	Rajouri	Hindus-Muslims	(a) Clash in the economic interest of Hindu Shahukars and Muslim peasantry. (b) Communal preachings by Haji Abdur Rehman.
8.	1922	Poonch	Hindus-Muslims	Rivalry among the political elite.
9.	1923	Baramulla	Hindus-Muslims	Over a site near a Hindu temple.
10.	June 1924	Anantnag	Hindus-Muslims	Dispute over a construction of a platform by Muslims near a spring.
11.	August 1924	Srinagar	Hindus-Muslims	Dispute over an issue of sacrilege to Mahakali Devi Shrine temple and Khanqah Maula Shrine.
12.	May 1924	Srinagar	Hindus-Muslims	(a) Race for acquiring more jobs. (b) Administrative problems.
13.	July 1931	Srinagar, Jammu, Rajouri and Mirpur districts	Hindus-Muslims	(a) Anti-Maharaja and anti-Hindu propaganda by Muslim leaders. (b) Ahrar Agitation against State Government and Ahmediyas instigation to the local leaders.

APPENDIX—E

Table showing at a glance the total number of students according to religion at different times[1]

Religion	*1889-90*	*1900-01*	*1911-12*	*1919-20*	*1931*	*Increase*			
						1890-1901	*1901-12*	*1912-20*	*1920-31*
Hindus	644	4574	14621	16608	31481	+3930	+10047	+1987	+14873
Muslims	144	1357	7270	12079	46265	+1213	+5913	+4809	+34186
Sikhs	48	110	—	—	3201	+ 62	—	—	—

1. The table has been prepared on the basis of Annual Administration Reports of the concerned years.

APPENDIX—F

Table showing the ethnical composition of the State employees at the end of the first decade of the 20th century

Department	*Hindus*		*Muslims*	*Sikhs*	*Total*	*Percentage*			
	Kashmiris	*Others*				*Hindus*		*Muslims*	*Sikhs*
						Kashmiris	*Others*		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Revenue	58	84	42	11	195	29.7	43.0	21.0	5.6
Accounts	6	3	—	—	9	66.6	33.3	—	—
Timber & Forests	6	11	2	1	20	30.0	55.0	10.0	5.0
Land Settlement	17	26	11	5	59	28.8	44.1	18.0	8.0
Daftar Dewani	21	20	2	—	43	48.8	46.5	4.6	—
State Distillery	1	1	—	—	2	50.0	50.0	—	—
Sericulture	1	2	—	—	3	33.0	66.0	—	—

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
State Treasury	9	7	1	—	17	52.0	41.1	5.8	—
Dal Jinsi	6	2	—	—	8	75.0	25.0	—	—
Dharamarth etc.	—	3	—	—	3	—	100.0	—	—
State Property in British India	3	1	—	—	4	75.0	25.0	—	—
General Deptt.	27	95	80	10	212	12.7	44.8	37.7	4.7
Judicial Deptt.	31	61	32	1	126	24.6	48.4	25.3	0.7
Total	186	316	170	28		26.5	45.1	24.2	4.0
Percentage	26.5	45.1	24.2	4.0					

APPENDIX—G

Representation of Muslims in various departments (civil) in 1931[1]

Department	*Total*	*Muslims*	*%age*
Education	2347	734	31.2
P.W.D.	237	54	22.7
Electric and Mechanical	50	3	6.0
Telegraph and Telephones	80	7	8.7
Customs (Assistant Mahaldars and above)	209	14	6.6
Revenue (Wazirs and Tehsildars)	89	22	32.8
Clerical			
Finance	397	29	7.3
P.W.D.	197	3	1.5
Judicial	183	21	11.4
Menials			
P.W.D.	143	23	16.0
Customs	422	108	25.5
Forests	1062	278	26.1
Stationery & Printing	71	5	7.0
Police[2]			
ASI's and above	127	28	22.0
Head Constables & Constables	2847	1287	45.2
Gazetted Appointments[3]			
Police	30	6	20.0
Other civil departments	247	67	27.1

1. Glancy, B.J., *op. cit.*, p. 15.
2. *Annual Adm. Report*, J & K, S. 1987-88, 1988-89, 1989-90, p. 9.
3. Resident in Kashmir, Memorandum, 6th Oct., 1931, Home-Pol., F. No. 10/28, 1931.

APPENDIX—H

Table showing the ethnical composition of the Dogra forces in 1930-31[1]

	Units	*Ethnical Representation*			
1.	Kashmir Bodyguards Cavalry	Hindu Dogra Rajputs	— 100%		
2.	Kashmir Mountain Batteries (Three)	Hindu Dogras Muslim Dogras	— 50% — 50%		
3.	Infantry Battalions (Seven)	1st Kashmir Rifles	— Hindu Dogras	—	100%
		2nd Kashmir Rifles	— Gurkhas	—	50%
			Muslims	—	50%
		3rd Kashmir Rifles	— Gurkhas	—	50%
			Hindu Dogras	—	50%
		4th Kashmir Rifles	— Hindu Dogras	—	50%
			Muslims	—	50%
		5th Kashmir Rifles	— Hindu Dogras	—	100%
		6th Kashmir Rifles	— Hindu Dogras	—	50%
			Muslim Dogras	—	50%
		7th Kashmir Rifles	— Kangra Rajputs	—	50%
			Jat Sikhs	—	50%

The State also had the following Auxiliary troops :

1.	Kashmir Military Transport	Hindu Dogras Muslim Dogras	— 50% — 50%
2.	Forests	Mixed	
3.	State Band	Mixed	

1. *Annual Adm. Report*, J & K, S. 1987-88, 1988-89, 1989-90 (1931-33), p. 9.

Bgiblioraphy

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